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HISTORY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN THE NEAR EAST

By JULIUS RICHTER

A History of Missions in India

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A HISTORY
OF
PROTESTANT MISSIONS
IN THE NEAR EAST

BY

JULIUS RICHTER, D. D.

EDITOR "DIE EVANGELISCHEN MISSIONEN,"
AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF MISSIONS IN INDIA,"
ETC., ETC.

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Preface

TO the Boards of the great Congregational and Presbyterian Churches of America I dedicate this volume with an expression of the deep gratitude which Protestant Christendom owes to them for their comprehensive and thorough work in the Near East. They have worked during the nineteenth century quietly, with little recognition from outside, for the uplifting and spiritual vitalizing of the venerable remnants of the Oriental Churches. Now after the sudden changes of the last year, those missions stand out as the well founded corner-stones of great and promising mission churches, as the pillars of hope in the midst of the turmoil of the Near East.

I have had the privilege during the last month to be for the first time in the United States, at the fountainhead of those beneficent streams which are fertilizing the dry fields of the Levant. What I have experienced during this time has filled my heart with great hopes for the future of the missionary movement. When at the International Convention at Rochester I looked into the bright faces of about four thousand students, kindled with enthusiasm for missions, I realized that the central question of the labourers in the great harvest here finds an ideal solution. When I came in close touch with The Laymen's Missionary Movement, I ventured to hope that by reclaiming the wealth of the Union for the service of the Kingdom that other perplexing problem, the money question, would be dealt with satisfactorily. And when in constant intercourse with the leaders interested in missionary movements I saw of what high type these men really are, my confidence increased that the leadership, too, is in good hands and that by such men God has a great work waiting for America.

This book in English is not a mere translation of the German edition. Whole chapters have been rewritten, others

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more or less altered. English and American views on missionary questions differ greatly from the German. The writer of history has a task like that of an oculist who adapts the spectacles exactly to the eye so that men may see matters clearly and distinctly in their right proportions. A historian tries to do the same for his readers; to present the facts in just that form which enables them to be seen in their true perspective and significance. In translating this book into English I had the joy of a man privileged to show to the members of his household a hidden treasure belonging to them, the great value and beauty of which they had not hitherto known.

I am deeply indebted to the Rev. John Elliot of Priors Marston, England, and to the Rev. Murray Scott Frame of Union Theological Seminary, New York, for their untiring zeal in revising the book. I gratefully acknowledge the help of both, for they spared no pains in bringing out the book in as correct a form as possible.

We are on the eve of great events in the Near East. The problem gains in importance and urgency year by year. Those facts become suggestive which show that the American missions have been more effective in their Muhammadan work than generally known. I have just received a letter from the Rev. C. R. Watson, D. D., Foreign Secretary of the United Presbyterian Church in America, proving convincingly to what extent the American Mission in Egypt has worked among the Muhammadans. There are 3,945 pupils in its schools, more than 10,000 patients treated every year in its hospitals and 139 converts have been gathered in, an earnest of a greater future harvest. May this book, too, increase the Christian and missionary interest in the Muhammadan world and may it, by giving an accurate record of what has been done up to the present time, make many Christians willing to enlarge these missions for greater work in the future.

JULIUS RICHTER.

New York. On the day of departure from the United States.

Contents

	INTRODUCTION	11
I.	THE MUHAMMADAN WORLD AND THE EASTERN CHURCHES	17
	1. The Muhammadan World	17
	2. Two Aspects of Islam	21
	3. The Oriental Churches	36
	4. The Roman Propaganda	46
	5. The Russian Church	56
	6. The Position of Christians Under Turkish Rule	58
	7. What is the Justification of Protestant Missions Among the Oriental Christian Churches?	66
	8. Has the Time Come for Muhammadan Missions in the Near East?	76
	9. The Message of Christianity to Islam	80
II.	THE BEGINNINGS OF PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ENDEAVOUR	89
	1. Peter Heyling	91
	2. Henry Martyn	93
	3. The "Mediterranean Mission" of the Church Missionary Society	94
	4. The Basle Mission in Transcaucasia, 1822–1835	97
III.	PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN TURKEY AND ARMENIA	104
	1. The Mission of the American Board Until the Rupture with the Ancient Church, 1830–1846	106
	2. From the Organization of the Protestant Church in 1850 Until the Armenian Massacres in 1895	113
	3. The Armenian Massacres, 1894–1896	135
	4. Russian Armenia	153
	5. The Work of the American Board from 1896 to 1907	155

6. Protestant Missions Among the Greeks, the Bulgarians andthe Turks . . 164
7. The New Era in Turkey 176

IV. Syria and Palestine 181
(*A*) *Syria* 181
1. The Mission of the American Board, 1823–1870 185
2. The Entrance of the Other Missionary Societies 201
3. The Mission of the American Presbyterians, 1870–1908 212
(*B*) *Palestine* 229
1. The Beginnings of Protestant Missionary Work: Anglo-Prussian Episcopate of Jerusalem 235
2. The Mission of the Church Missionary Society 242
3. German Missionary Work in the Holy Land 258
4. Protestant Outposts in Arabia . . . 271

V. Persia 279
1. Protestant Missions in Persia. The Work of the American Board, 1834–1870 . 294
2. The American Presbyterian Mission Among the Nestorians, 1870–1908 . 303
3. Missionary Competition 308
4. American Presbyterian Missions in Persia, Exclusive of the Mission Among the Nestorians 317
5. The Work of the Church Missionary Society in Persia 329

VI. Egypt and Abyssinia 337
(*A*) *Egypt* 337
1. The American Mission 344
2. Spittler's "Apostelstrasse" (Apostles' Road) and Other Smaller Missions . 354

3. The Church Missionary Society Mission in Egypt 358
4. The Egyptian Sudan 363
(*B*) *Abyssinia* 371
1. The Church Missionary Society Mission from 1830 to 1843 378
2. The Second Period—The Falasha Mission . 382
3. The Swedish National Mission . . . 386

VII. Missions Among the Jews. The Work of the Bible Societies 391
(*A*) *Missions Among the Jews* 391
(*B*) *The Work of the Bible Societies* . . . 400

VIII. Summaries and Statistical Tables . . . 412

Index 423

Introduction

THE "Near East" of this book comprises the Balkan Peninsula, the Levant with Armenia and Persia, and Northeastern Africa. Some of our readers may question the accuracy of our use of the term "Protestant Missions." It may seem to them that these words ought to be used exclusively to denote Protestant missionary activity among non-Christians, whereas only a small part of the grand efforts, with the history of which this book is concerned, have been directed towards the non-Christian population of the Near East. Yet we have no word exactly expressing what we want to say, and the word "mission" has been widely and generally used in connection with the evangelistic and educational efforts to enlighten and revivify the old and venerable, but deplorably decaying Churches of the East. So we feel there will be no misunderstanding if, in this book, we use the term so dear to our hearts to describe all efforts to evangelize the Near East. Most of this history is a narrative of admirable undertakings to help on, and to bring to a higher level of spiritual life, the ancient Eastern Churches. Yet throughout this wide area evangelistic efforts among Christians are up to the present time the most important and comprehensive method of preparation for work among non-Christians. And we are convinced that in the near future greater interest will be taken in the hitherto isolated missionary efforts on behalf of the Muhammadans.

Protestant Missions in the Near East have, during the last century, found scant attention among the larger Christian public. This may be due partly to the fact that missionary writers regarded this work as not properly within their sphere, whilst church historians, even such as were specially interested in the Eastern Churches, either had no access to the sources

needed for the compilation of a history, or were unable to thread their way through the labyrinth of material. An extensive and important chapter of modern church history consequently remained almost unknown; or, if writers of earnest purpose ventured into this region, where everything was shrouded in obscurity, they led their readers astray by erroneous and mistaken statements. Only one who is fairly conversant with missionary literature is in a position to follow the tangled threads of such a complicated development of events, and even such an one will find that his powers are limited. We present the following studies to our readers only as an imperfect sketch. At the present time, owing to the lack of previous work in this field, it is almost impossible to offer anything complete. May the following pages serve some later historian as a stepping-stone to a more comprehensive and discriminating survey.

Even this fragmentary account will show what an important and deeply interesting chapter of mission history it is with which we have to do. By the Roman Catholics a lively interest has long been taken in church propagation in the East, and this interest is fostered by means of missionary periodicals, such as *Die Katholischen Missionen* and also by means of magazines dealing exclusively with this field.[1] We regret that Protestants, on the contrary, except perhaps as regards the Holy Land, have generally failed to perceive the importance and extent of the work carried on by their co-religionists in these lands. Their interest has not been aroused even by the fact that the Turkish Empire, with its neighbouring provinces, has been brought into such close connection with Europe by the political developments of the past decades.

How many are the claims of those desolated lands on our sympathy! Scientific research has for generations been intensely alive to the surprising discoveries which their forlorn

[1] Such periodicals dealing with the Roman Catholic Missions in the East are the following: in Italy, *Bessarione* (since March, 1896); in France, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien;* in Germany, *Nilles, Calendarium ecclesiæ utriusque* (Innsbruck, 1896).

tumuli yield every year to the archæologist. The gigantic old palaces of Nineveh and Babylon have been dug out and have revealed to our astonished eyes an admirable culture of almost prehistoric times. The graves and ruins of Egypt have begun to speak again of the ancient glory of the realm of the Pharaohs and its indigenous, Nile-born civilization. Even the old capitals of almost forgotten kingdoms, like the Hittites of the Bible, have been discovered and unearthed again. A man who showed no interest in these wonderful monuments of a remote antiquity would be regarded as deplorably short-sighted. But in these regions there are *living* ruins too, living ruins that have a special claim on our sympathy and help.

Our studies lead us to the lands of the Bible, lands consecrated by the most sacred associations with the mighty works of God. These are the lands in which the all-wise Disposer of the destinies of mankind worked out on the stage of history the redemption of the human race; the lands where the Chosen People heard the call of God, where they wandered, suffered and perished; where the Only Begotten Son of God sojourned in the days of His flesh and accomplished on the cross the redemption of the world; where the great Apostle of the Gentiles laid the foundations of the Christian Church. There the primary developments in the history of the Christian Church took place. There the martyrs sealed their testimony with blood. There the most celebrated church fathers clothed the facts of the Christian plan of salvation in the modes of thought of Greek philosophy and culture, thereby exercising a decisive influence upon the development of Christian doctrine. There the growth of early Christianity was marked by the rise of church buildings and the introduction of liturgical forms, the development of church organization and church practice. There for the first time Christian national Churches took their rise and became prosperous.

The most severe blow sustained by the Church of Christ throughout the whole course of her history was that which was struck in the year 632, when the Arab invasion swept like a devastating flood over the Eastern provinces of the Church.

The century which followed was the most disastrous in the history of the Church. More than half the territory then nominally Christian was brought under the sway of the Crescent. It is a reproach to Christian nations that the rest of the Church looked on for seven centuries with short-sighted indolence, whilst the Eastern Roman Empire was being submerged beneath successive waves of invasion, until the year 1453 witnessed the fall of Constantinople itself.

Once, throughout a period of nearly two hundred years, the nations of Christendom strove to recover at least one dearly loved province, the Holy Land, from the hands of the fanatical Muhammadans. The time of the Crusades is the most romantic period of the Middle Ages; in spite of all their political folly and petty rivalry, they constituted a grand effort on the part of Christendom to win back the countries of her birth. The effort failed; the wave of enthusiasm was beaten back by the brazen walls of Muhammadan fanaticism.

Since then Christendom has made a second attempt to win back the lost provinces; not by mail-clad knights or death-dealing cannon, but, just as in the day when the Christian Church was founded in those regions, by the gentle influences which emanate from the preaching of the Cross. She established churches, schools and hospitals. She sent missionaries, who followed in the footsteps of Him who did not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax. Though this work, like the Master Himself, does not make its voice heard in the streets, our Lord's disciples, at any rate, should have their eyes opened to discern its hidden glory. The following pages contain the history of these efforts put forth to recover the provinces wrested by Islam from the Church, this modern crusade, which breathes more truly than that old-time warfare the spirit of the Prince of Peace.

The course of our book is dictated by the nature of the subject. We shall endeavour, first of all, to gain a general idea of the religious and social condition of this vast region, directing our attention to the Muhammadan world and to the remnants of the ancient Christian Churches. We shall then

take up the different countries one by one, and survey the missionary efforts put forth in each. With the Romish propaganda we deal only in so far as this is necessary to a right understanding of Protestant work. We do not attempt to describe the spiritual life, the constitution, the liturgies, and the checkered history of the Eastern Churches. Nor do we deal with the history of the religious controversy between Muhammadans and Christians. It seems to us better to direct our attention solely to the wide-spread ramifications of the Protestant missionary enterprise.

May this plain, unvarnished tale open the eyes and warm the heart of many a Protestant Christian. True, we do not record events which have moved the world. We still live in a day of small things. But as we traverse those consecrated lands, we are reminded afresh that it was here that God worked out the redemption of the world. Cannot He, who once caused the river of salvation to flow forth from these lands into all the world, cannot He bring back to these regions some currents from that stream of blessing, which has enriched Europe and America? In these regions Christianity once showed its power, when opposed by the civilized heathenism of the Greek-Roman world; should not the same power approve itself a second time as "the victory that overcometh the world"? Protestants have carried the Gospel far and wide throughout the world; they have given heed to the command, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." But on Mount Olivet the Master, as He was about to leave this earth, issued His instruction, "And ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea and in Samaria and unto the uttermost part of the earth." The Muhammadan lands of the East lie at the very door of Christendom; a journey of two and a half days takes us to Constantinople; in seven to nine days we can reach Jerusalem or Cairo. At the beginning of the last century, if Christians desired to carry the Gospel to the heathen nations of Africa and Asia, it was necessary cautiously to traverse the intervening fringe of Muhammadan territory, or to make one's way

around it. The route round the Cape of Good Hope has been exchanged for the more direct route through Muhammadan lands, where the traveller can now pass in safety. The inhabitants of these countries have the right to ask of Christian missionaries no longer to pass them by through disregard or hopelessness.

History of Protestant Missions in the Near East

I

THE MUHAMMADAN WORLD AND THE EASTERN CHURCHES

1. The Muhammadan World

ONLY a part of the Muhammadan world can claim our attention in the following pages. We shall consider Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and Egypt. These are the lands in which Muhammadanism took its rise. They are at the same time the home of more or less important remnants of ancient Christian Churches. Yet, in order to appreciate the position which these nations occupy in relation to the Muhammandan peoples as a whole, we must cast at least a rapid glance over the entire region occupied by the followers of the Prophet.

The Muhammadan world is a broad strip of territory, extending from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Dutch East Indies, and far into the interior of China. On the north the boundary line of this wide region passes from the Straits of Gibraltar through the Mediterranean to the Balkan Peninsula, runs northward to the Danube and stretches eastward across the steppes of Southern Russia and Siberia into China. In China the western provinces of Kan-su, Shen-si, Yun-nan and the new province of Hsin-kiang, have a large admixture of Muhammadans; the further east one travels, the smaller is the proportion of the Muhammadan population. In

Africa, the Muhammadan countries in Western and Central Sudan extend into the interior of Guinea, in fact almost as far south as the Congo; to the east, in spite of the paramount influence of Muhammadan Egypt, they have not advanced south of the latitude of Fashoda, except along the coast. Along the east coast of Africa Arab immigrants have formed a new centre of Muhammadan influence, which has extended westward even beyond the great inland lakes. In Southern Asia we find that in a large part of India, especially in the northern provinces, in the United Provinces, and in Bengal, the Muhammadans form no inconsiderable proportion of the population, numbering many millions of adherents. In the Dutch East Indies they have taken entire possession of Java, the most beautiful and most thickly populated of the islands. They are very strong in the other large islands of Sumatra, Celebes, and Borneo, and have gained a footing on the remotest islands of the group. In addition to this wide belt in which Islam is almost without rival, isolated outposts are to be found at the Cape of Good Hope and on some of the islands off the East African coast.

Authorities still differ considerably as to how many Muhammadans are to be found in these countries. The reason is not far to seek. Only in the case of such territories as are under the dominion of Christian powers do we possess reliable statistics, obtained through an accurate census. Thus we know that in British India there are 62,458,077 Muhammadans, in Egypt, 8,978,775, in Cape Colony, 15,100, in Cyprus, 47,900, in Ceylon, 212,000. But with regard to very large tracts of territory we possess only approximate estimates. So the most careful statisticians differ considerably in their results; the French geographer Malte Brun reckoned in 1810 and again in 1831 only 110 millions. "Brockhaus Konversationslexikon," 1894, 175 millions. On the other hand, "Brockhaus Konversationslexikon," 1902 (14th Ed., Vol. VI), 244 millions. The Wurtemburg statistician, Director H. Zeller (*Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, 1903), 175,330,000. Hubert Jansen, "Verbreitung des Islam," 1897, 259,680,672 (!). H. Wichmann

in Justus Perthes' Atlas, 1903, 240 millions. "The Mohammedan World of To-day," 1906, 232,966,170.[1]

Of these 228 millions of Muhammadans, taking that figure

[1] We append herewith the most important of the separate items, so that the reader may form his own estimate of the accuracy of the total. We print in italics the names of those countries for which the figures may be considered fairly correct, because derived from an official census :—

EUROPE:	Turkey, 2,050,000; *Bosnia*, 549,000; *Bulgaria*, 643,000; *Roumania*, 44,000; *Servia*, 14,000.	
	Total	3,300,000
AFRICA:	North—*Egypt*, 8,979,000; Tripoli, 1,250,000; Tunis, 1,700,000; Algeria, 4,071,000; Morocco, 5,600,000.	
	Total	21,600,000
	Central and East—Erythrea, 150,000; Somaliland, 1,100,000; British and German East Africa, 1,250,000; Egyptian Sudan, 1,000,000; Abyssinia, 300,000.	
	Total	3,800,000
	West—French West Africa, 20,000,000; British Africa, 7,500,000; German West Africa, 2,000,000; other countries, 1,000,000.	
	Total	30,500,000
	Congo, 2,000,000; French Congo, 1,000,000; other countries and islands, 750,000.	
	Total	3,750,000
	Total in Africa	59,650,000
ASIA:	North and West—Turkey, 12,250,000; Independent Arabia, 3,500,000; Persia, 8,750,000; Afghanistan, 4,500,000; Russian Asia, 6,500,000; Bokhara and Khiva, 2,000,000.	
	Total	37,500,000
	South—*British India*, 62,500,000; *Ceylon*, *Malay Peninsula and other British possessions*, 900,000.	
	Total	63,400,000
	Dutch East Indies, 29,250,000; French colonies in Hither and Further India, 1,500,000; Siam, 1,000,000.	
	Total	31,750,000
	Central—China, 30,000,000.	30,000,000
	Total in Asia	162,650,000
	Asia	162,650,000
	Africa	59,650,000
	Europe	3,300,000
	Total	225,600,000

If the usual estimate of thirty millions of Muhammadans in China is not thought to be considerably too high, we may reckon that in round figures there is a Muhammadan population in the world of two hundred and twenty-five millions.

as an approximate total, only thirty-eight millions,[1] or about one-sixth, live in those parts of Asia and the north-east corner of Africa which, in this book, occupy our attention. But these regions include within their borders the countries in which Islam took its rise, and they embrace its holiest cities and its most celebrated universities; in a word, they contain, as it were, the heart and head of Muhammadanism. One of the chief duties of the orthodox Moslem is the "hadj" or pilgrimage to Mecca, which every Mussulman is expected to perform at least once in his life. This pilgrimage brings Muhammadans from the remotest countries of the earth to Mecca, whence a flood of Moslem piety flows back into all parts of the Muhammadan world. Besides this, Arabic is the sacred language of Islam. Only in that language is it permissible to read the Koran and to pray. It is in Arabic alone that Muhammadan theological and philosophical works, in short, original Muhammadan works of learning, have been written. Consequently, the Arabic-speaking countries of Hither-Asia and North Africa claim as their birthright a position of preëminence with regard to the other Muhammadan countries of the world. In addition to this, Church and State are so indissolubly connected in the Muhammadan world that a certain amount of prestige attaches to the holder of the highest temporal office, the lawful Khalif, that is, the Turkish Sultan in Stamboul. In him centre the ambitious political aspirations of the Moslem world. Thus, in spite of their comparatively small population, a unique position in the Muhammadan world is occupied by the lands which contain Mecca and Stamboul, in which Medina and Jerusalem, the next holiest cities of the Moslems, are situated, and where Arabic is spoken as the mother tongue of the inhabitants.

[1] Europe according to the note on page 19, 3,300,000; Asia Minor, 7,179,000; Armenia and Kurdistan, 1,795,000; Mesopotamia, 1,200,000; Syria, 1,053,100; Turkish Arabia, 1,000,000. Independent Arabia, 3,500,000; Persia, 8,750,000; Egypt, 8,979,000; Egyptian Sudan, 1,000,000; Abyssinia, 300,000; Erythrea, 152,000. Total, 38,600,000.

2. Two Aspects of Islam

Muhammadanism shows evident signs of decay; on the other hand, there are less evident signs of progress. Islam, which was founded by the sword, and the early adherents of which were desirous of proving its truth by the sword, has through many a long year experienced a succession of reverses. These began in Western Europe. Since the victory of Charles Martel at Poictiers the flood of Muhammadanism has receded; one part of Spain after the other, Lower Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles, were freed from the yoke of Islam. It was a hard struggle, lasting several centuries. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the greater part of Eastern Europe was under Muhammadan sway. But then came a reaction. The Russians fought against the Moslems, and in the course of the struggle, which lasted some hundreds of years, they became experts in the art of war and in the subtleties of diplomacy. The absorption by Russia of territories that were formerly Muhammadan continued throughout the nineteenth century. Thus in 1800 Georgia, and in 1828, 1829, and 1878, parts of Armenia were annexed, while from 1844 to 1887 the Trans-Caspian territory and Turkestan, the ancestral homes of the Turks in Asia, were subjugated. A third series of Muhammadan reverses dates from 1683, when John Sobieski raised the siege of Vienna. The Austrians gradually gaining courage, after struggles that lasted several decades, succeeded in driving the Turks back from the Leitha across the Danube, and regained possession of Hungary. Throughout the nineteenth century a fourth movement has taken place, whereby the power of Islam has been still further curtailed. The "Sick Man on the Bosphorus" has had to suffer the amputation of one limb of his unwieldy body after the other. Provinces have either been made into independent kingdoms, or have been placed under the protection of European Powers. Thus in 1829 the Turkish Empire lost Greece and Servia, in 1830 Algeria, in 1858 Roumania, in 1878 Cyprus, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Bulgaria, in 1882 Egypt and Tunis, and in 1898 the island of Crete.

Turkey is only a comparatively small part of the region under Muhammadan rule. What else remains to-day of the former realm of Islam? There was a time when the Sudan, the Fulbe and Hausa States of West Africa, Zanzibar and the whole of East Africa as far as the Lakes, in fact as far as the Upper Congo, were ruled by Muhammadan princes. To-day the three Christian Powers of France, Britain, and Germany have divided these territories between them. There was a time when India from the Himalayas to Cape Cormorin was governed by the Great Moguls in Delhi and their vassals; but years ago the last maharajah bowed his proud neck before Christian Britain. There was a time when the Muhammadans were masters of the Mediterranean and the adjacent seas, as well as of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. To-day Britain is mistress of these seas, and the converging points of the trade routes which cross their waters are under her control. Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Perim, Penang and Singapore are important connecting links of the British Empire.

Of the two hundred and twenty-five millions of Muhammadans only thirty-five millions are at present under Moslem rule, while one hundred and sixty millions are under Christian rule. Whereas the Sultan, the "Commander of the Faithful," Muhammad's Khalif, rules over about eighteen million Muhammadans, the Christian King of England commands eighty millions, the French Republic and Holland each twenty-nine millions and the Russian Czar fourteen millions.

It was disastrous for Islam that from the twelfth century the Turks assumed the leadership. From one point of view this was an advantage. Through the centuries of their world empire the Arabs have never lost their Bedouin characteristics. They never learned statecraft. Their history is a record of ambitious cliques and reckless adventurers. The Turks, on the contrary, are a people with a capacity for rule. By nature excellent soldiers, they founded a lasting government. But they do not take kindly to civilization. There are four great nationalities which have played a leading part in the internal and external history of Islam; the Arabs, the Per-

sians, the Mongols and the Turks. The first three introduced splendid epochs of civilization and stood, at various times, in the forefront of general culture—the Arabs in Egypt, Morocco and Spain; the Persians in their own country; and the Mongols in India. They achieved great things in architecture, philosophy, geography, and astronomy. They produced poets and religious thinkers of world-wide renown. Nothing of all this is to be found among the Turks, no truly great poet, no explorer of the unknown, no fruitful constructive ideas in art. They rule with the mailed fist, and their rule is a curse for the peoples subject to them. Under their rule are found representatives of more gifted nations—Greeks, Egyptians, Macedonians, Armenians. As long as these languish under the Turkish yoke, they deteriorate outwardly and inwardly. Freed from Turkish tyranny, they recover. Think what Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, Cyprus, and Egypt have become since their liberation, and you realize the curse of Turkish rule. In the whole range of history, you will hardly find a nation that has done so little for civilization after seven centuries of unrivalled opportunity. That Islam to-day is generally regarded as antagonistic to culture, is to be attributed, above all, to the Turks.

There are five chief causes of decay in Islam.

(1) Muhammadan governments have proved incapable of developing the economical resources of their lands and of helping the population of these lands to thrive. Turkey, Persia and Morocco, almost the only countries still governed by Muhammadans, are in a condition of economical chaos. On the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia Minor Turkey possesses fertile territories, once the seats of a flourishing civilization. Assyria, Babylonia, the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, and Macedonia were once the granaries of the world. To-day these territories are impoverished and famine-stricken, hardly able to sustain the tenth part of their former population. Turkey herself, the mistress of these precious territories, suffers from chronic financial disability. At the present day, when political questions are so intimately connected with financial

conditions and when national wealth means national power, such countries are bound to fail in the race.[1]

(2) Hand in hand with this economic incapacity goes internal political incapacity, which has never known how to settle disputes and establish lasting peace and order. First of all, there is the national enmity between Turks and Arabs. The northern half of the Ottoman Empire as far south as Tripoli in Syria is Turkish, the other half Arab. Probably the Arabs are the nobler race; they are also the nation of the Prophet and the Koran; they feel it to be an injustice that the Turks have assumed the place of paramount authority in Islam, and that the Sultan regards himself as Khalif. Then there is the bitter antagonism of Turks and Arabs alike against their Christian subjects. Of such discord we shall find many a record in the following pages. Further, Turkey has not been able to amalgamate with herself races nominally Muhammadan, such as the Druses, the Nusairiyeh, the Kurds, and the Muhammadan Albanians. Large provinces of the empire—Armenia, Kurdistan, Syria, nearly the whole of Turkey in Europe—are in a chronic state of ferment, that nowhere allows of peaceful settlement. It is often impossible to say whether such countries as Yemen, Central Arabia, and Tripoli are in a state of chronic rebellion, or whether they have achieved full independence. And, to complete the mischief, the government cannot hold in check the Bedouin hordes from Arabia and the Syrian desert, which constantly overrun Syria and Mesopotamia. These Bedouins are like the desert sand, absorbing unhindered one fertile stretch of the country after

[1] In 1875 Mustafa Fazil Pasha, a brother of the Khedive of Egypt, wrote to the Sultan :—Your Majesty's subjects, of whatever faith they may be, fall into two classes, viz : the ruthlessly oppressing and the mercilessly oppressed. Industry, agriculture, trade—all lie prone in the empire. When a man can exploit his neighbour, he takes no pains to improve his mind or his field ; and where tyranny and extortion reign, no one can hope for the fruit of his labour, and no one works. Every passing year robs us of our foreign support. All the European statesmen, on regarding the actions of your officials, exclaim: That government is incapable of reform, it is doomed to destruction. Well, sire, are such prophecies lies? (Dr. Gundert, "Protestant Missions," 4th Ed., p. 257).

the other, because there is no power to call a halt. This incapacity for internal government escapes attention in some degree because of the fact that the religion of Islam binds together all Muhammadan races, so that they present a solid front against all non-Muhammadans. This bond of a common religion is so strong that it transcends the ties of blood and race. A Muhammadan father does not hesitate to give testimony against his own son, should that son embrace Christianity. Those Greeks, Armenians and Bulgarians who have become Muhammadans, are often, in the second and third generation, the bitterest opponents of their countrymen who have remained Christians, their new religious connection severing even the ties of family. This peculiar contrast, on the one hand internal, national enmity of the bitterest kind, and, on the other hand, united opposition against all outsiders, explains many curious anomalies in the history of Muhammadan states.

(3) A third cause of the decay of Islam is the contradiction between the teaching of Islam and established facts. Read Sura IX of the Koran, the only sura that is not introduced with the words "In the Name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate," words that would sound blasphemous in this connection. Four months are allowed to infidels for consideration. If they are not converted to Islam within that time, then "kill the idolaters wheresoever ye shall find them, and take them prisoners, and besiege them, and lay wait for them in every convenient place; but if they repent and observe the appointed times of prayer and pay the legal alms, dismiss them freely" (Sura IX: 5. Sale).[1] "Fight against those unto whom the Scriptures have been delivered, and yet who believe not in God, nor in the last day, and forbid not that which God and His apostle have forbidden, and profess not the true religion, until they pay tribute by right of subjection and they

[1] To be sure Muhammad uttered the famous saying, "There must be no compulsion in matters of religion." But the Arab commentators say, probably with truth, that this declaration was abrogated by later utterances, such as those given above.

be reduced low." That Moslems should be subject to the infidel Christians is thus an intolerable thought, which raises the fanaticism of Moslems to the boiling point. Yet three-quarters of all Muhammadans are subjects of Christian nations, and the rest are in more or less close dependence on Christian Europe. What a contradiction! There is the same anomaly in Muhammadan theology and learning. There have certainly been centuries in which these have made great progress. But there was always a germ of death in them. That "winged word," with which Khalif Omar, or his Egyptian general Amr, is said to have excused the destruction of the invaluable library of Alexandria, "Either there is in these books what the Koran contains, and then they are superfluous; or they contain something different, and then they are false and noxious," reveals the fundamental genius of Islam, which has fallen like the frost of winter on the scientific spirit. The only allowable task of science is the codifying and explaining of the authoritative words of Allah in the Koran, as they definitively regulate all that bears on the common life, the mosque, the courts of law, the bazar, and even the Khalif's throne. But this artificial system of law, which the learned deduce from the Koran and the Sunna with hair-splitting exactitude, is in sharp conflict with stern reality. The Muhammadan higher schools exhaust themselves in an attempt to reconcile facts with the teaching of their sacred writings. The whole modern state would have to be remodeled, in order to be brought into conformity with the will of Allah, as propounded by the mollahs. The same contradictory elements are to be found in the relations of business and civil life. This is increasingly true in proportion as European influence gains ground in Muhammadan lands. Tobacco and wine are an abomination to the orthodox Muhammadan. The camel and the horse carry him on his journeys. Of railways and steamers, of electricity and the telephone his Koran knows nothing. Could he but retire to some distant oasis in the desert, where he could hear nothing of these abominations of the giaour, and where he could fashion his life according to the precepts of the Koran! The

risings of the Wahabis in Arabia, and of the Senussi order in North Africa, are typical attempts to defy the modern reality and to restore the ideal of Islam.

(4) Connected with this is the fourth cause of decay, the splitting up of Muhammadans into *sects*. Persia is the classic land of Muhammadan sects, whose name is legion. There are sects philosophical, sects religious, sects political. But the formation of sects is by no means confined to Persia. As a rule there are two doctrines of Islam that are a fertile soil for the growth of sects: (*a*) the doctrine that Allah calls an Imam (teacher) in each generation, who has divine authority to expound the Koran to his contemporaries. It is not to be wondered at that repeatedly some conceited man, haunted by hallucinations, regards himself as such an Imam; (*b*) the doctrine that at the end of days the Mahdi is to finish Muhammad's still incomplete work, leading Islam to be mistress of the world. What a number of Mahdis have arisen during the last century! And the sadder the condition of Muhammadan countries becomes, the greater is the likelihood that rage at the disappointing present, and a yearning for the Ideal of Islam, will lead to Mahdi risings.

(5) In addition to all this, moral deterioration is eating at the vitals of Muhammadan nations. The Koran allows polygamy, one of the worst ethical errors of Muhammad. Polygamy is everywhere the rule, except where poverty enforces monogamy. The result is that even a greater degree of sensuality prevails in such nations than among Africans or Hindus. This carnality has borne fatal fruit. If the woman is but the plaything of the man and exists only to satisfy his lust, why need she be educated? On the contrary, the less she knows, the better. In the eyes of the man, she is but flesh. This general feeling has stood in the way of the education of women. Unbridled fleshly desires, also, are fanciful and changeable. The slightest thing may cause antipathy, or at least indifference. Hence divorce and adultery are common. Rev. John Young, the Scottish missionary in Aden, says that he does not know any man over thirty who has not been mar-

ried two or three times. Snouck Hurgronje has drawn fearful pictures of the moral depravity in the holy city of Mecca, where most marriages are temporary, and where many women have been married to thirty or more men consecutively. Still worse, in Asia Minor prostitution is fearfully common, and Turkish society in particular is honeycombed with the unnatural vice of pederasty. Where such moral depravity reigns, a sound family life is impossible. The children grow up in the poisonous atmosphere of intrigue, fleshly lust, bad language and shameless licentiousness. They are polluted from youth up. It is perhaps the greatest curse of the Oriental Churches, that they have to exist in such an atmosphere and are liable to become infected by the surrounding corruption. It is refreshing, when wandering through these moral wastes, to come upon a people like the Kurds, a people morally pure, and therefore robust; and one feels almost inclined to forgive them their ingrained robber instincts because of their moral purity. It is terrible that one who knows Islam as thoroughly as does William Gifford Palgrave, especially as it is in Asia Minor and Arabia, must sum up his verdict in these strong words: Only "when the Koran and Mecca shall have disappeared from Arabia, can we expect to see the Arab assume that place in the ranks of civilization, from which Muhammad and his book have, more than any other cause, long held him back" ("The Mohammedan World of To-day," p. 80).[1] In spite of all this it would be a mistake to look for

[1] Never perhaps was the general decline of Islam more plainly set forth than at a conference of prominent and learned Muhammadans which met at Mecca from the 27th of March to the 10th of April, 1899, to enquire into the reasons of this decline and to devise remedies. The chairman opened the proceedings with an assertion that in any two adjacent countries, districts, villages or homes, one of which is Muhammadan, the other not, you will find the Moslems less energetic, worse organized in every respect, less skillful in the arts and trades than the non-Moslems, though the former may excel the latter in such other virtues as honesty, courage and liberality. In explanation of this sad state of things, the conference adduced no fewer than fifty-six causes, embracing the whole range of life, religious, political and social. It was resolved to found a society for the revivifying of Islam, the society of "the Mother of the Villages," and to establish

an early collapse of Islam, even though it should lose its last remnant of political power. There remains real vitality in the Muhammadan world. The more Islam decays outwardly, the more does this inner vitality reveal itself. It finds expression, above all, in the orders of dervishes, one of the most remarkable phenomena in the Moslem world. Since Islam developed near one of the chief seats of the early Christian colonies of monks in Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula, and since she won her first successes in countries in which the monastic idea had taken root, it is not to be wondered at that, in Islam also, similar tendencies asserted themselves. The oldest dervish order is said to have been founded by the Khalif Abu Bekr, Muhammad's uncle. Centuries passed, however, before this dervish idea became fully developed. It was too foreign to the genius of Islam to find a home there quickly. In 1165 Abdul Kadr el Jilani, of Bagdad, founded the most celebrated of the earlier orders. Not till the political decline of Islam in the nineteenth century was the number of dervish orders, till then small, increased, by way of reaction as it were, to eighty-eight. Millions of adherents flock to them. They are perhaps the most valuable spiritual asset of modern Islam.

Following the example of the Muhammadan theologian,

in Mecca a Koraishite Khalifate of a decidedly ecclesiastical character, to be maintained by an army drawn from all Muhammadan states. The learned Oxford Orientalist, Professor Margoliouth, concludes his report of this significant conference by raising the weighty question, "Has Islam any golden age to look back on, except in the sense that at one time Muhammadan sultans were a terror to their neighbours, whereas now their neighbours are safe from their raids?" In answer to which he asserts that "there is no real abuse current in Muhammadan states from which they have ever been free, except by accident, for a limited time. . . . The days of the 'Pious Khalifs' could they be reproduced, would mean no progress even in the most backward Islamic countries. The strengthening of Islam, if it is not to be a calamity to the whole world, is not to be effected by the reproduction of a barbarous past, but by an attempt to utilize the vast force which Islam represents, as a factor in the real progress of the civilizing and ennobling of the race. And whether this can be done, or the whole of this huge capital must be 'written off' is the question which reformers have to solve" ("East and West," 1907, p. 393).

Ghazali, one of whose works is a standard in Muhammadan theology, this theology is divided into three parts, Law, Dogmatics and Mysticism. This mysticism acquired an independent and recognized position. Apart from a knowledge of the law, the thoroughly educated Moslem theologian requires special training to enable him to come into communion with Allah. To effect this is the task of mysticism. It is an anciently accepted principle that a personal instructor, a murshid, is necessary. Such instructors are supplied by the mystical orders, the *tariqas*. The founder of an order is believed to be in direct communication with Allah, this spiritual bond passing over to the sheikh of the order for the time being, the sheikh being connected with the founder by his *silsilah*, or "spiritual inheritance." The sheikh, either immediately and personally, or through vicars and Khalifs commissioned by him, has the care of all souls who place themselves under his spiritual guidance and enter his *tariqa*, or order. Orthodoxy demands that the study of mysticism be engaged in only after a man has been well grounded in law and doctrine. In practice, however, the dervish orders try to attract to themselves the ignorant masses, who have had no previous training.

The organization[1] of the orders is generally identical. At the head stands the grand master, called the *sheikh*, who claims obedience from every member. The dervishes live in *zawiyahs* or monasteries, under a *mukaddim*, or abbot. The full members of the order, living in the community, are *ikhwan* or *khuan*, *i.e.*, brethren. Side by side with them are the lay members, who follow worldly callings, but in times of danger gather round the order by which they are protected. The novitiate is a long and fatiguing process. At first the novice has to perform ascetic exercises with the object of mortifying his personal will and of making him a pliable tool in the hands of his superiors. His advance in the order is but slow, from one grade to another according to his fitness. All the orders aim at deepening the religious life by means of an

[1] Cf. *Miss. Rev.*, 1900, pp. 372ff., 1902, pp. 732ff. "Missions wissenschaftliche Studien," pp. 129ff. Sell, "Essays on Islam," pp. 99ff.

ecstatic sinking of the soul in Allah. Seven steps in this process seem to be common to all the brotherhoods. The first and second comprise the *dikr* and the common rules of Islam. The dikr (tikr, trika) is the special formula constituting the peculiar feature of the order. It is added to every prayer and is frequently repeated at every religious service. The third step is the ecstatic passion; the fourth, the ecstasy of the heart; the fifth, the ecstasy of the immortal soul; the sixth, the mystical ecstasy; the seventh, the ecstasy of absorption in Allah. These steps are reached by fasts, vigils and special exercises. On the lowest step the dervish is only a "learner"; on the second, a "seeker after God"; on the third, a *fakir*, *i. e.*, a man who has dissolved himself into the Nothing. On the fourth step, he is a *sufi*, *i. e.*, an object of divine love. At this stage he begins to have visions and revelations, which he regards as coming directly from Allah. Then he becomes a *salek*, "a man who makes for the goal, *i. e.*, God." On the next step he is "drawn to God," and constantly shouts in ecstasy. After this he becomes either a "holy fool" or a "holy teacher," and is filled with the spirit of Muhammad. There is yet a higher step, when the man shall become equal to God, and the soul lose its individuality, being absorbed in God. Very seldom, however, does any one reach a higher level than that of a "holy fool." Men of this grade are common in Arabian towns. Though they do not beg, they live by alms, and are frequently seen running naked through the streets.

To give an example of the exercises of these dervishes, we will describe those of the *kadirija* order. The members of this brotherhood have, at every prayer exercise, to repeat (1) "There is no God but Allah" 165 times; (2) "God be merciful to me," 100 times; (3) the dikr of the order, "Oh, Allah, bless our lord and master Abdul Kadir 10,000 times more than there are atoms in the air," 100 times. Then the worshipper sits cross-legged on the ground, his right hand resting with upturned palm on his right knee, while his left hand lies on his left leg. In this position he continues to utter

the name of Allah slowly and softly, until all evil thoughts vanish—it may be 1,000 or 2,000 times—giving special emphasis to the last syllable in "Allah*u*." Then he turns his head 1,000 to 2,000 times regularly from left to right, repeating in the same way "Allah*a*" until good thoughts come. Finally he bows his head low the same number of times, always repeating "Allah*i*," until he has no thoughts at all, or, as the dervish expresses it, "until all thought is absorbed in God."

With other orders the process is not so quiet; they employ stronger methods to induce the ecstasy. For instance, the *aisawiya* join hands in a circle, and, under the lead of their sheikh sway their bodies from right to left, uttering hundreds of times the name of Allah. The oftener they do this, the greater becomes their excitement. Sometimes they cry "Allah" 5,000 or 10,000 times. Finally they jump up and shout the name as loud as they can. Nor do they cease until they collapse in a fainting condition, whereupon they are shoved aside, others taking their places. Some place prickly fruits on their naked backs and roll about upon them. Others inhale the poisonous fumes of charcoal until they become demented. Others again place splinters of wood in their eyes, cheeks, tongue, or sides, while some stand and jump on the edge of a sharp sword, or fix the point of a sword on their bodies and let it be tapped with a boot or stick. As soon as they are in this way brought to the verge of madness, the sheikh gives them a live sheep, which they rapidly devour, skin and hair included, fighting like mad dogs for the most repulsive parts —and all this in the name of God! Most nearly related to the *aisawiya* are the two best known European dervish orders, the *rufaiya*, or "howling dervishes," and the *maulawiya*, or "dancing dervishes."[1]

[1]Snouck Hurgronje, a recognized authority on modern Islam, says of the *kadirija:* "Expressions of the religious life resembling madness are observed only in brethren of the lower grades of the order, or, in a more refined form, in the most secret assemblies of the initiated. Yet . . . these brethren like to linger on the border of two worlds, in the half-light with half-closed eyes. Their highest ideal is to have during their earthly life intoxicated feelings, which cannot be described in human speech." Nor do we miss here "the indispensable

It is difficult for us to realize that orders which effect this kind of piety should represent the strength of Islam. And yet to their activity Islam owes its most important progress, its greatest conquests in the nineteenth century. The scope of the *kadirija* is chiefly in Western Sudan, the desire of its adherents being to spread the Muhammadan faith among the heathen nations of Africa. They are to be found as far south as Sierra Leone and the upper Niger. The fact that a tribe, as soon as it becomes Muhammadan, is spared by the slave dealers, has added large populations to Islam.

The *tiyaniyah* order is powerful chiefly in Tunis, exercising its influence as far as Sierra Leone and Timbuctoo. This order must be chiefly credited with the mighty advance of Islam in North and East Africa.

At present the most important and powerful order is the *sanussiyah.* Founded in 1843 by the Algerian sheikh Sanussi, and since his death in 1859, led with equal skill by his son, this order possessed in 1886 one hundred and twenty-one monasteries and houses of the order and had, counting the lay brethren, about eight million adherents. In Tripoli its power is so great that Turkish authority is little more than nominal. The order found a special promoter and adherent in the person of the Sultan of Wadai, through whose influence the population of the adjacent district of Ennedi embraced Islam. The monasteries of the *sanussiyah* are found as far as Morocco, and their influence in the interior of Africa, on the upper and middle Niger, is on the increase. "The great aim of Sheikh Sanussi in his work of reformation is the reëstablishment of the original Islam, as he imagines it, the reintroduction of the moral and religious laws and precepts of the Prophet, the renewing of the purity of the Islamitic faith, free from the besmirching influence of European civilization and Christianity. All the modern innovations in Turkey and Egypt were hateful to him, and he therefore adopted an Arabic motto for

movements of the body and head, full of hypnotic suggestion, whereby the sacred formulæ pass from one shoulder through the heart to the other side and wander through various parts of the body" (Mekka II, p. 378).

his order, "The Turks and Christians belong to the same category: we will destroy them both at the same time."

Much has been said about Muhammadan missionaries and Muhammadan missionary societies; but in the sense in which we understand it, there are no such organizations in Islam, or at least they have been very short-lived.

Nor are the orders, though they perform the greatest part of the work, really the pioneers of Islam among infidels. It is, rather, characteristic of the Muhammadans, that, as a rule, every merchant or traveller is a propagator of his faith. As far as the Hausa merchants advance in West Africa, so far does Islam extend. It is a well-known fact that in the first three centuries of Christianity, the time of its most rapid expansion, the name of hardly one officially appointed missionary is recorded after the death of the Apostles. And yet Christianity penetrated country after country victoriously, and congregations sprang up like mushrooms. Every Christian was a missionary of his faith, and, wherever he went, he preached it and gained converts. Alas! how different it is now with the Christians scattered over the whole world. But it still holds good of Islam; and this championship of his faith by the simple Moslem, his boldness and punctuality in performing his religious duties even in the most alien surroundings, prove to be a most effectual means of propagating his religion. The dervishes follow in the track of these simple forerunners.

It has sometimes been expected that the progress of Islam would be crippled in proportion to the waning of the Crescent, and as the claim of Islam to be a political power becomes illusory. Facts teach that in its contact with the lower forms of religion among the negroes, the Malays and the pariahs of India, the missionary power of Islam would seem to increase in proportion as Islam loses the support of political influence and the sword. In its propaganda Islam possesses a great advantage over Christianity; it forms a gigantic, concentrated body, which by the natural law of attraction assimilates all that comes within a certain range. Christianity is represented only by individuals, or at most by numerically insignificant

communities scattered throughout nearly the whole of the missionary world of Asia, Africa and Oceanica. Where it is in a position to appear with the full weight of its ecclesiastical and political organizations, as in South Africa, North America and the Australian continent, the process of Christianization is rapid. Such favourable conditions are the rule for Islam, but for Christianity the exception. It must be added that, while both religions enjoy the advantage of offering the benefit, so attractive to savages, of leading them from barbarism to a certain appearance of civilization, Islam with its polygamy, slavery, spirit worship and tolerance of sorcery, makes far lower moral demands than Christianity, which in many cases is also hindered by racial animosities between black and white. Thus it becomes apparent how Islam develops considerable missionary power among the uncivilized peoples of Africa and India.

Still another factor in the world of Islam must be taken into account, the idea of Panislamism. As Muhammad had the empire of the world conferred upon him by Allah, so, according to the Muhammadan view, his Khalif is the rightful ruler of all the Faithful,—the only one called to rule the world. Since the assassination of the fourth lawful Khalif, Ali, the honour of the Khalifate has passed from one dynasty to another. But since this dignity was surrendered by the Abbaside Khalif of Egypt in 1517 to the Osmanli Sultan, Selim I, it has been claimed by the Sultan of Constantinople. For many Sultans it may have been a mere title, used to ensure their position with their subjects. The Sultan Abdul Hamid (from 1876) recognized the possible importance of the claim involved in this title in view of the excitable character of the Moslems. By a secret, yet organized agitation in every Muhammadan country, he endeavoured to commend himself to all orthodox Moslems as the only lawful Khalif. It is true that the Persian *Shiites*, the Arabian *Wahabites* and the Moslems of Morocco refuse to acknowledge this claim; true also, that barely a twelfth part of the Muhammadans—about nineteen millions out of two hundred and

twenty-five millions—are really under the dominion of this Sultan; true again that the proud Arabs, following an ancient tradition, claim that only one of *Koraishite* blood may become Khalif, and that therefore only the Sherif of Mecca has a right to the title. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that this agitation about the Khalifate has had a real effect upon the minds of Muhammadans. Were the Sultan, like his predecessors in former centuries, still the "ever-victorious," Moslems in all the world would willingly submit themselves to the "Commander of the Faithful." Owing to the present feebleness of the "Sick Man on the Bosphorus," this ideal is far from fulfillment, yet this agitation constitutes a constant, latent danger to European governments in Muhammadan colonies. It is curious that the agitation is strongest in Muhammadan Egypt, governed by Christian England. It must be added that it is merely agitation and not an organized, combined effort. It is with Islam as it is with the Protestant Churches. Its radically democratic character renders combined actions beyond the limits of each state very difficult. Yet, in spite of this lack of combination, the ferment of Muhammadan fanaticism engendered by such movements is felt throughout the Muhammadan world. In the Crimean war Muhammadans held the grotesque view that the French and English rushed as his vassals to the help of the "Ruler of the World" against the insolent rebel, Russia.

The result was that a high tide of Muhammadan rebellion broke upon Muhammadan countries under infidel rule, with the object of shaking off the offensive yoke of the unbelievers. Thus, in 1857, occurred the mutiny in India; in 1859, the rebellion in Borneo; in 1858–1861, Muhammadan risings in Kan-su, Shen-si and Yun-nan. This beating of a single pulse throughout the entire Muhammadan body constitutes the danger of Panislamism.

3. The Oriental Churches

From the beginning the chief immediate aim of Protestant Missions in the Near East has been to infuse new spiritual

vigour into, and to kindle new intellectual light in, the *Oriental Churches*. It is therefore necessary to give some general information about the political and religious state of those Churches. To become acquainted with them is of high interest to the student of church history. It is as if he were turning over the torn yellow pages of a picture-book. Ancient religious controversies, sympathies and antipathies come to life again, that have lain hidden under the débris of twelve or thirteen centuries.

The East Roman Church was the backbone of the early church development. From the time of Constantine it was the established Church of the Eastern Empire. It exists in the present day as the *Greek Orthodox Church*.

In the grand ecclesiastical traditions of Origen, Athanasius, Basil, the Gregorys, and of John Chrysostom, this Church possesses a magnificent heritage from the Past. Since, in addition, she has been upheld by the Greeks, a people as mentally vigorous and intellectually gifted as they are self-conscious and proud of their glorious history, it is not to be wondered at that the Greek Church occupies by far the most prominent position in the ecclesiastical life of the Christian East. To this Greek Orthodox Church belong (1) the great Russian Church in which the Czar holds well-nigh the same position of supremacy which the Byzantine Emperor formerly held; (2) the group of churches among the Slavonic peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, embracing Bulgarians, Servians, Roumanians, Ruthenians and others, and (3) a group of Greek Churches in Greece, Macedonia, Asia Minor and in those former centres of Græco-Macedonian civilization, Syria, Palestine and Egypt; in all about ninety millions. These groups of Churches are organized into no single ecclesiastical body. The vigorous Sultan Mahmud II, indeed, recognizing the fact that as a Muhammadan he could not do justice to his Christian subjects, transferred the ecclesiastical and civil oversight (rumi melleti) over all Christians to the Patriarch of Constantinople, after the taking of this city in 1453. Yet, as those parts of Turkey in which Christianity prevailed broke

away from the Turkish yoke and were organized into independent states, they asserted at the same time their ecclesiastical independence of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and strove to build up national Churches among themselves. Thus autonomous Churches were founded in Greece, Montenegro, Servia, Roumania, Hungary, etc. Even within the dominions of Turkey, the Patriarch of Constantinople had not sufficient power nor prestige to maintain papal authority over the churches of his creed. The Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem looked back upon an equally glorious ecclesiastical past, and enjoyed so great a prestige on account of the holy places lying in their territory, that they became autonomous and independent of Constantinople in nearly every respect, although their independence is not legally defined. Even the small Orthodox Greek Church of Cyprus and the "archbishopric" of the fifty monks of the Sinai Monastery became autonomous. Several factors contribute to the further loosening of this feeble ecclesiastical connection. In the "orthodox" churches of Mediterranean lands, Greek has for ages been the language of the church services and of ecclesiastical learning. The patriarchs, therefore, claimed the right to put Greeks into all the important livings under their control, even though the congregations might not understand Greek. This gave rise to a fateful quarrel with the Bulgarians, a people proud of their nationality and very ambitious. They considered it an insult, that Greeks should be the superior clergy and should conduct the services in Greek. The obstinacy of the Constantinople Patriarchate on the one hand, which refused to accede to the just demands of the Bulgarians, and, on the other hand, the backing up of the latter by the Russian government, led, in 1870, to the issuing by the Sultan of a firman declaring the Bulgarian Church practically independent of the Patriarch, and conferring upon it an autonomous "Exarchate." Although the Patriarch replied by excommunicating the Bulgarian Church, thereby forcing it into a kind of schism, the latter has maintained its autonomy, and is striving hard to annex the whole Bulgarian

nation to its ecclesiastical, as well as to its political, organization. The Bulgarians number two and a half millions in Bulgaria itself, and one and a half millions in European Turkey, most of the latter being found in Macedonia.

Similar difficulties confront the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem. It is true that in these districts Greek was originally the language of the church services, of culture and of trade, and that the Fathers of this region were without exception Greeks. Yet, after the Arabian conquest in the middle of the seventh century, language and civilization underwent a complete change. The native population, including the Christians, adopted the Arabic language, so that even Greek families, which immigrated in former centuries, speak Arabic, though perhaps in the family circle Greek is spoken and understood. This being so, the congregations feel it to be an insult that only Greek-speaking ecclesiastics are placed over them as bishops and higher clergy. And they have a powerful supporter of their claims in Russia, who is striving to establish her political supremacy throughout the Near East on the basis of an ecclesiastical unity in Syria and Palestine.

Of the loose group of Orthodox Greek Churches within the Turkish Empire the Patriarchate of Constantinople is the most important. To it belong the churches in Asia Minor and in that portion of European Turkey in which the population is Greek by birth and language with only a slight intermingling of Slavs. The congregations connected with this Patriarchate number, approximately, two and a half million souls. Here, apart from a not inconsiderable portion of the interior highlands of Asia Minor, where it has been superseded by the Turkish or Armenian tongues, the Greek language is used by the people and in the churches. Compared with this large Patriarchate, those of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem appear poor enough. Alexandria lost the greater part of her congregations as far back as the sixth century, when nearly the entire Egyptian Church seceded to Monophysitism. During fourteen centuries of Muhammadan oppression, their number has further declined, so that at the present day there

are only 10,000 native members, in addition to 40,000 immigrants, especially from Greece and the islands of the Ægean Sea. The Patriarchate of Antioch has about 250,000 Syrians, most of whom speak Arabic. In the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, there are at most 50,000 to 51,000 (the greater part of whom also speak Arabic), the largest congregations being in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Nazareth (5,000 each), Bethlehem (3,800), Beit Jala (4,000), Beit Sahur (1,150), Lydda, Gaza and Ramleh (about 1,000 each).

The creed of the Orthodox Greek Church is based on the seven Ecumenical Councils; it teaches baptismal regeneration, the conferring of the Holy Spirit by the anointing with holy oil, transubstantiation, etc. Prominent in the religious life of the people are the veneration (not the worship,—προσκύνησις not λατρεία) of the Saints, relics and icons, and, above all, the paying of all but divine reverence to the Virgin Mary. The doctrine of Purgatory is rejected, but prayers and masses for the dead in their intermediate state are generally observed. Critics from the most diverse points of view all come to the conclusion that true religion is seriously declining. National feeling is the strength and stay of the Church. To secede from the Church of the Fathers is simply unpatriotic and disloyal. Protestants, particularly, are regarded as dangerous innovators, a secret society after the pattern of Freemasonry, greatly to be distrusted from a moral point of view. The superior clergy and the monks are celibate, while the lower clergy both in town and in country are permitted to marry.

In the fifth century the churches of the Parthian Empire separated themselves from the Byzantine State Church and became the *East Syrian Church.* Founded by Syrians and intimately connected by language and civilization with the intellectually active Church of West Syria, to which belonged Ephrem Syrus, Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, this church adopted Nestorius' doctrine of the Two Natures, thus separating itself from the homogeneous and united Catholic Church. This schism must be attributed to political rather than to dogmatic motives. Throughout

the rule of the Parthian Arsazides and Sassanides, the Parthian Empire was in constant conflict with the Byzantine. In the midst of this ruinous strife an ecclesiastical barrier against the Byzantine Church was in some sense a political safeguard. Thus the Nestorian Church was incited to develop its peculiarities of practice and doctrine and to engage in extensive missionary work. In spite of great resistance and fierce persecution on the part of the rulers of the Sassanian dynasty, who did their utmost to make the fire-worship of Zoroaster a national religion, Christianity spread throughout Persia and far beyond into India and the heart of China. Even under Muhammadan rule these Nestorians of the East for centuries carried on a vast missionary work, of which, however, but scanty information has come down to us. Those times are gone. Of this Church that formerly extended over half Asia, there are to-day but about 100,000 members. They live in a district whose borders may be defined by Mosul in the southwest, the Lake of Van in the northwest, and the Lake of Urmia in the east.[1]

They are exposed to the merciless attacks of the Kurds, between whom and themselves there has been for centuries unending feud. Probably they will in the end be exterminated by their wild neighbours. The ecclesiastical and political head of this small but brave Church is a patriarch who always has the hereditary name of Shimon, and who resides in

[1] In the absence of reliable statistics, it is difficult to give definite figures. In 1831 Smith and Dwight calculated 14,054 families, numbering 70,000 souls ("Researches in Armenia," Vol. II, pp. 218 ff.). Oussani, in Johns Hopkins' Semitic Papers (1902), probably overestimating their number, gives for the present day 150,000 members, 250 churches, thirteen archbishops and bishops and about 300 priests. It is certain that not more than from twenty-three to twenty-five thousand Syrians live in Persia, while statistics of the numbers in Turkey vary considerably. Since the Armenian massacres in 1895 and 1896, which also severely afflicted the Nestorians in Turkey, the Nestorian population in Turkey has been, at least for the time being, considerably displaced. It was calculated that by the end of 1896, twelve thousand had fled over the boundary to the Urmia plain. We may safely say that there are at present in Turkey 56,000 free Mountain Syrians and about 64,000 "uniate" Syrians (Chaldeans) in communion with Rome.

Kotchhannes in the district of Julamerk on the middle Zab. The separation of the Nestorians in Turkish territory from those in Persia has hindered the ecclesiastical development. These Eastern Syrians of the Nestorian Church are correctly named Syrians, for they have retained through all the centuries of their isolation the Syrian language, not only as the dead language of an obsolete liturgy, but as the living language of daily common life. This language is the sole remaining branch of the once important group of Syrian languages possessing a considerable ecclesiastical literature. It was interesting information that the American missionaries brought to the learned world of the Occident in 1835, when they discovered this modern Syrian language. Missionaries and scholars have ever since vied with one another in studying the language scientifically, in preparing grammars and dictionaries and, above all, in creating a popular literature in the newly-discovered tongue.

More disastrous to the Catholic Church than this secession of the Nestorian Church of the East Syrians, was the rent caused by the Monophysitic controversy. About the middle of the sixth century, just as the Byzantine emperors thought they had overcome this difficulty, a powerful advocate of Monophysitism arose in the person of that indefatigable monk and bishop, Jacob el Baradai, who elevated Monophysitism to an actually dominant position among the creeds of the eastern portion of the Byzantine Empire. "Fleet of foot as Asahel, temperate, and shunning no hardship, for well-nigh forty years he hurried, clad as a beggar, through all Asia Minor and Egypt as far as Byzantium and the islands of the Mediterranean Sea, collecting and encouraging his followers, organizing congregations, consecrating bishops, and ordaining priests and deacons. . . . Doing this work in the daytime, and travelling on some thirty, forty or more miles in the night, he was fortunate enough to escape all persecution; and, while at the time when he began his work Monophysitism was in a moribund condition, Jacob—as Bishop John of Ephesus tells us—consecrated two patriarchs, twenty-seven (eighty-seven according to another

reading) bishops, and ordained probably 100,000 priests and deacons." National Churches such as the Armenian and Egyptian, adopted the Monophysitic creed, which also became dominant in Syria and Mesopotamia. In West Syria the Jacobites are to-day the sole remnant of the Monophysitic Syrian Church. They number no more than about 80,000 members. Their ecclesiastical head, the Patriarch of Antioch, resides in the monastery of Es Safaran near Mardin. Besides Mardin, Diarbekr and Mosul, there are considerable congregations in the village of Sadad, on the road from Damascus to Palmyra, and in other villages of this neighbourhood.

Even more serious than the loss of the Church of Western Syria through this Monophysitic schism was the fact that, in consequence of these conflicts, separatistic tendencies gained a hold in the incoherent provinces of the East Roman Empire. Byzantium with its Greek ecclesiastical culture was unpopular with nations having a language and ancient civilization of their own. Difference of opinion in ecclesiastical matters lent impetus to centrifugal tendencies. It was under the ægis of Monophysitic activities that Egypt, Syria, and Armenia broke away from the Catholic Church. By this separation they preserved the distinctive character of their national culture, their native language, and, in part, their original ecclesiastical customs. But they had to pay for this with their separation from the great stream of church life, and with the consequent ecclesiastical and dogmatic impoverishment.

Of these separate national Churches, formed under the influence of Monophysitism, the most important in size and influence is the *Armenian*. This is the most ancient national Christian Church, for the people of Armenia embraced Christianity in the third and fourth centuries. This was brought to pass largely through the wonderful activity of Gregory the Illuminator, whence the Church is called the Gregorian Church. Always confined within the limits of the Armenian nation, it has shared for centuries the sad fortunes of this unhappy people, which was first dragged hither and

thither between the rival kingdoms of Persia and Byzantium, and later fell an easy prey to advancing Islam. Their chief misfortunes, however, the Armenians have ever owed to the savage hordes of the Kurds, who dwell in the neighbouring wilds to the south and east, and who have persistently opposed every civilizing influence. By their recent superficial acceptance of Islam these Kurds became the welcome tool of Turkish officials wherewith to harass the Armenians.

These Armenians originally inhabited the northeast of Asia Minor and the fertile plains lying between Ararat and the Caucasus. Since the province of Erivan was ceded by Turkey to Russia at the Peace of Adrianople in 1829, about one-half of the Armenians—say a million—have been under the rule of the Czar. In Russian Armenia lies Echmiadzin where the Armenian Catholicos resides. The other half, 1,144,000 (according to another authority even as many as 1,475,011) dwell in Turkey, where their hereditary homes lie in the northeastern vilayets of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekr and Mamuret el Aziz. In the vilayets of Erivan and Van they form a majority of the population. There they are for the most part diligent and quiet agriculturists. But the Armenians have always displayed a considerable power of expansion, the unhappy conditions of their home provinces, as well as their native intelligence and business capacity, inducing them to emigrate. They are to be found in large numbers in all the cities of Western Asia Minor, while in Constantinople there are 97,000 (according to other estimates 200,000 or even 215,000) of them. Nearly half of the Armenians in Turkey live outside of Armenia, and about 100,000 reside in Northwestern Persia.

Like the Greek Church, the Armenian has also developed a group of patriarchates, which, though ecclesiastically independent of each other, nevertheless stand in close connection. Their president and leader is the Catholicos of Echmiadzin. This diocese includes all Armenians in Russia, together with those scattered in Southern Asia, in Europe outside of Turkey, and in America. Next to him, and almost his equal

in rank and power, is the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, who has no less than forty-four archbishops and bishops under him, and who is the ecclesiastical head of nearly the entire Armenian population of Asia Minor and Turkey in Europe. The other three Patriarchs, those, namely, of Jerusalem, of Sis in Cilicia, and of Aghtamar, an island in the Lake of Van, occupy an inferior position.

It is to be regretted that there has also been a divergence in language among the Armenians. Only a few, even among the clergy, understand the difficult classical Armenian. In modern Armenian there are two dialects, which differ considerably, the eastern, or Ararat dialect, and the western. Many have altogether given up the use of their native tongue. In many parts of the eastern highlands Kurdish has become the prevalent language. Still greater is the number of those who have adopted Turkish, which, however, with the inconsistency peculiar to many Orientals, who retain their written characters longer than their language itself, they write in Armenian script. This Armeno-Turkish has developed into a separate mixed dialect.

In *Egypt* the conservative aborigines had a deep-rooted dislike of the Greek influence spreading from Alexandria, and of the rule of Byzantium; and this opened a gulf between the orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and the National Church of Middle and Upper Egypt, which seceded to Monophysitism. The same jealousy blinded the eyes of the ecclesiastical and political leaders of Egypt to such an extent that they welcomed the Arabs, who flooded their country under the leadership of Amr, as their deliverers from the Byzantine yoke. But during the centuries of ever-increasing Muhammadan tyranny, they found that they were being chastised no longer with whips, but with scorpions. By far the greater part of the Egyptian people—8,971,761 out of a total of 9,734,405—has become Muhammadan; but all the more obstinately does the faithful remnant cleave to the venerable, ancient Church. These latter are called Kopts, and, as they have in this name retained the ancient name of their country—E-gypt,—so also

their appearance, particularly that of the children, shows at once that they are the pure descendants of the aboriginal Egyptians, whose kings and queens look down from their granite statues with similar faces upon the poverty-stricken fellaheen living in their mud huts.

In Lower Egypt they are to be found in considerable numbers only in Cairo (26,440), and Alexandria (5,059); in Middle Egypt, thousands of them live in all six provinces; but they are most numerous in Upper Egypt—in Minyah, 92,223; in Assiut, 161,686; in Girgeh, 109,777; and in Kenneh, 52,802. In these four districts are crowded together 426,488 out of the 592,374 Kopts of the ancient creed. In the Assiut district they form more than one-fifth of the population. Ecclesiastically dependent on the Koptic Church from the earliest times, is the *Abyssinian* Church, numerically the largest Oriental Church extant, having a membership of about three and one-half million souls; but it is at the same time religiously and morally the most degraded, barbarous and heathenish. The spiritual head, the Abuna (our father), or Abba Salama (father of peace), is appointed by the Koptic Patriarch. Apart from this, it is a state Church, the forms of which bear witness to the fact that it was organized under the despotic rule of violent kings.

A statistical table of the Oriental Churches in Turkey and Northeast Africa shows that

The Greek Orthodox Church numbers	2,400,000
The Armenian	1,250,000
The Nestorian	100,000
The Jacobite	80,000
The Koptic	592,374
The Abyssinian	3,500,000
	7,922,374 or, in round numbers, 8 millions.

4. *The Roman Propaganda*

No clear conception of these ancient Churches of the Orient can be gained, unless those churches and parts of churches which the Roman propaganda has absorbed in the

course of centuries, are taken into due consideration. For, curiously enough, those parts of the ancient Churches which have been "united" with Rome, have not as a rule been assimilated with the Roman Church in rites and church polity. On the contrary, they have retained, in greater or less degree, their ecclesiastical peculiarities, their liturgies, and sometimes their ecclesiastical language. They occupy, therefore, a separate position within the Roman Church as "Churches of the Oriental Rites."[1]

First and foremost among these is the Maronite Church. The Maronite nation occupies the southern slopes of the Lebanon, from Tripoli in the north to Tyre and the sea of Galilee in the south—an area of about 3,000 square miles. It is uncertain whether they were originally a political nation or a Christian sect. They number about 320,000 souls in a pretty compact mass, especially in the districts of Kesrwan and Bsherreh near Tripoli, where they form the main part of the population.[2] Their name is derived from a monastery of St. Maron (our lord) or Mari (my lord) in the Lebanon. Their ecclesiastical history is somewhat wrapped in darkness, but it appears certain that they joined the Monotheletic party in the eighth century. During the time of the Crusades (in 1182) they went over to the Roman Church, but whether only their leaders at first, and the mass of the people in later centuries, is not to be ascertained. This is the only case of the seceding of an entire Oriental Church to Rome. Strangely enough we have only the following authentic, and yet much contested, report

[1] Literature of the subject: J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheka orientalis*, Rome, 1819–1828; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* (critically inexact and often hasty); Silbernagel, *Verfassung und gegenwärtiger Bestand sæmtlicher Kirchen des Orients*, Landshut, 1865; W. Kœhler, *Die kathol. Kirchen des Morgenlandes, Beitræge zum Verfassungsrecht der sogen. uniert-oriental. Kirchen*, Darmstadt, 1898; especially also the articles in Wetzer und Welte's *Kathol. Kirchenlexicon*.

[2] The figures of Roman missionary statistics are not very safe. The most competent sources differ considerably. We have to content ourselves with placing them side by side and striking an average. Werner gives the number of Maronites as 278,000 (*Orbis terrarum cath.*), while *Miss. Catholicæ*, 1907, reckons 314,600; Streit, *kath. Missions Atlas*, 341,000; the Maronite Archbishop Debs, 300,000.

of William of Tyre, the historian of the Crusades, concerning this important event in Church History (Bongart, *Gest. Dei per Francos*, I, xxii, cap. 8. *Realenc.* 3d Ed., xii, p. 358): "In that year (1182), a Syrian nation (*natio quædam Syrorum*) living in the neighbourhood of the city of Byblus in Phœnicia at the Lebanon suffered a great change in its condition (*plurimam passa est mutationem*). For after they had followed for nearly five hundred years the false teaching of a certain heresiarch, named Maron, from whom they derived the name Maronites, and had separated themselves from the Church of Believers, retaining their special forms of worship, they now, led by divine inspiration, came to the Latin Patriarch, Aimerich of Antioch, renouncing their error and accepting the orthodox faith and, with their Patriarch and certain bishops, joined the Roman Church again. There were more than 40,000 of them, all brave men, practiced in war, who did good service in the war with the Saracens." Ever since that time Rome has endeavoured to effect the spiritual assimilation of this proud, warlike mountain race. The Synods held in the monastery of Kannobin in 1596, and in the nunnery of Luweiz in Kesrwan in 1736, were important and successful steps in this policy of unification which was pursued for centuries. At present the Maronites, apart from the use of the Syrian ecclesiastical language and the enjoyment of some ancient national privileges, are thoroughly Romanized.

As in the case of the Maronite Church, Rome has ever, especially since the time of the Crusades, made it a point to increase her influence over all the Oriental Churches, and eventually to win over to herself larger or smaller portions of them. The story of this wooing is an interesting and checkered, though not very edifying, chapter in church history. Rome often thought she had succeeded in bringing this or that Church into union with herself, only to be disappointed at the very moment of apparent success. It is beyond our province to follow this story in detail. We content ourselves with giving a review of her propaganda as it exists at the present time, only here and there adding historical data by

way of needful explanation. The task is not easy. In spite of the fact that there are a good many statistics of her adherents in the modern Roman missionary literature, it is difficult to arrive at definite results for the reason that in most of these statistical tables no careful distinction is made between adherents who have immigrated from Europe and adherents who have actually been won over from the Oriental Churches.

In this way the number of converts sometimes seems to be greater than it actually is. Just to mention one case. *Die Katholischen Missionen* (1907) estimates the membership of the three "uniate" Roman Koptic bishoprics at 20,250 souls, in addition to the 100,184 in the two other Roman dioceses of the same country. But according to the latest official census (1900), there were only 4,630 Kopts "united" with Rome, besides 46,504 Austrian, French, Italian and Spanish Roman Catholics, making a grand total of 56,343. However you may manipulate the figures, you can arrive at no satisfactory solution of the problem.

The *Orthodox Greek Church*, which is by far the most influential in European Turkey and Asia Minor, embraces people of various nationalities and tongues, who have met the propaganda of the Roman Church in different ways. In Austria-Hungary and Roumania Rome has won great victories; the Church of the Græco-Roumanian rite numbers 1,090,000 souls; that of the Græco-Ruthenian rite, 3,524,000. If we further take into our calculation the countries, or provinces, of Bosnia, Montenegro and Albania, in which Rome has had for ages a membership of 330,000, 13,000 and 131,000 respectively—in all 474,400—it is evident that she is in a strong position in the north of the Balkan Peninsula. On the other hand she has almost entirely failed in her efforts to proselytize among the Orthodox Greek Churches in the southern part of the Peninsula and in the Greek parts of Asia Minor, though she may have had temporary successes. The Servians, the Bulgarians and the Greeks have generally assumed an attitude of resistance. In Servia, apart from 8,200 Catholic immigrants,

Rome has but 2,200 "uniate" Servians. Among the Bulgarians, a nation which from the earliest times Rome has most persistently pursued, it seemed as if she were to reap a great harvest in the critical years 1860–1870, when the Bulgarian Church tore itself away from the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople. But when, in 1870, an independent Bulgarian exarchate was instituted with Russian help, the masses returned to the national Church. Rome retained in the dioceses of Sofia, Rustchuk and Philippopolis but 33,780 members, the majority of whom were Latin immigrants. The National Greek Church, proud of her great ecclesiastical and political past, has ever offered an obstinate resistance to attempts at proselytizing. Here, too, Rome has gained but little ground. The Latin dioceses of Constantinople and Smyrna number respectively, it is true, 46,000 and 15,500 Roman Catholics, but we are not informed how many of these are "uniate" Greeks. According to *Die Katholischen Missionen*, the "pure Greek rite" has only 180 "uniate" Greeks in the "Mission of Malgara," apart from 49,000 Greeks who had emigrated to Italy and had there become Romanized. Roman missionaries in the little town of Peramos on the Sea of Marmora have made several thousand converts of people who had quarrelled with their ecclesiastical authorities about the ownership of monastic property.

The *Syrian Church* has not been so steadfast. Rome had here the double advantage that the Arabic language, at present the national language, was formerly despised by the Greek-speaking hierarchy, and that the "uniate" Maronite Church was close by. She succeeded in winning over 138,200 Arab Greeks, and organized them into a Church with the "Græco-Melchitic rite." The name "Melchites" (from the Hebrew melek—king) was applied in olden times to the adherents of the imperial State Church in contradistinction to the independent Monophysitic Churches in the provinces.

The battle has swayed hither and thither in the rest of the Oriental Churches. More than once Rome believed she had completely captured the *Armenian Church;* but again and again

this people, proud of their ancient nationality and ecclesiastical traditions, broke away. Nevertheless there are about 125,000 Armenians in "union" with Rome, or ten per cent. of that part of the nation that lives in Turkey—a by no means despicable result. Rome's intrigues proved more ruinous to the small *Nestorian Church.* The split on the election of a patriarch in 1551, when one of the candidates, Johannes Sullaka, threw himself into the arms of Rome, hoping thus to secure himself in his chair, gave Rome a firm footing, a position she has retained in spite of occasional reverses. In 1684 the Pope ventured for the first time to appoint a special Syrian-Chaldean Patriarch, and since 1778 the subjection of that portion of the Nestorian Church existing in the Mesopotamian plain of Mosul and in the adjacent hill-tracts has been completed. They are called "Chaldean Christians," a name first given by the Latin missionaries. The Porte in 1843 officially recognized the Chaldean Church as a separate religious community in Turkey. There are some 64,000 members,[1] as compared with 100,000 Nestorians who have adhered to their ancient Church. Among the latter, the Roman Church has recently reported great progress and accessions on a large scale. Neither has the *Jacobite Church* been able to withstand this "uniting" policy of Rome. After several attempts, a Roman-Syrian patriarchate was founded in 1783, with its seat in Mardin; and although the Patriarch retired thence before the attacks of the faithful remnant of the Jacobites into the Lebanon, yet the Catholic Syrian Church was recognized by the Porte in 1830 as a separate religious body, and since 1854 a Catholic patriarch has resided in Mardin. The 20,000 Jacobites "united" with Rome form a fifth of the West Syrian Church of to-day.

It is only possible to guess the exact number of Roman Catholic Christians in the Holy Land; and how many of these are Latin immigrants, and how many native converts, it is im-

[1] Among these are many of the best educated of the people. Some separated from Rome in 1870 in consequence of the Vatican Council; but Archbishop Hassan succeeded in chaining them to Rome again.

possible to say. Rev. Ludwig Schneller, D. D., in a laborious enquiry (*Bote aus Zion*, 1905, pp. 49 ff.) estimates them at 13,500; Streit, 15,000; *Die Katholischen Missionen* gives 17,000. The latter asserts that, while there were only 4,000 in 1847, there are now 17,000, a meagre result considering the efforts which the Roman Church has concentrated on the Holy Land during the last five decades, and the number of Latin immigrants there.

Egypt Rome has pursued with most persistent ardour. Yet, after many apparent successes, the Kopts, who are obstinately attached to their traditions, have again and again slipped between the fingers of Rome. Leo XIII greatly desired to effect a "union," and he admonished the Catholic Church to make special efforts to do so. Towards the close of the seventies, he sent French Jesuits to assist the Franciscans, who had for ages laboured there. In 1886 he entrusted the Apostolic Prefecture of the Nile Delta to the Mission college at Lyons. During the last quarter of the century there arrived a host of new agencies —the Christian School Brothers, the Brethren of the Holy Gabriel, the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, the Sisters of Mercy and a great number of others from France, Germany and even Canada.

In 1895 a Catholic patriarchate for Egypt was founded by the Constitution *motu proprio*. The results were scanty; the census of 1900 showed that there were only 4,630 Kopts in "union" with Rome. Latterly the Roman missionary magazines have recorded that, by a popular movement, 15,000 Kopts have seceded to Rome; this movement seems at present to have come to an end.[1]

In Abyssinia the Catholic Church thought it had gained one of its greatest victories, when, in 1603, after a fearful massacre of the opposing party, the Negus, Susneus, whom the Jesuits had helped to enter a league with Portugal, declared the Roman Church to be the State Church, and the Jesuit Alfonso Mendez held an entry into the capital as its

[1] According to Father Krose there are 77,820 Roman Catholics in Egypt, of whom 45,000 are of European blood. Of the rest 20,250 are said to be of the Koptic rite.

patriarch, consecrated by the Pope. But in 1634, the Roman archbishop was obliged to leave with all the Jesuits, and the ancient Church was restored. When, in 1830, the ports of the country were partially thrown open again, Catholic missionaries of various orders appeared on the scene, and their often interrupted attempts run parallel with the vain efforts of Protestant missionary societies. Latterly, in 1904 and 1905, the last Catholic missionaries—the Capuchins in the South and the French Lazarists in the North—were expelled. In Abyssinia itself, the Catholic Church numbers only 3,000 or 4,000 "uniate" Abyssinians, though in Italian Erythrea just outside the Abyssinian boundary there is a more favourable state of things for Catholic Missions, there being here about 15,000 members. The adherents of the Churches "united" with Rome may be thus tabulated:

Albania	131,400
The Dioceses of Philippopolis and Constantinople	50,900
Smyrna	15,000
Syrian Melchites	138,200
Maronites	320,000
Chaldean Church (Nestorians)	56,000
Armenians	125,000
Uniate Jacobites	20,000
Palestine	15,000
Egypt	56,343
Abyssinia and Erythrea	18,000
Total	945,843[1]

[1] Since this book was written there have appeared new, accurate and painstaking statistics of the Roman Catholic Missions by H. A. Krose, S. J. (*Katholische Missionsstatistik*, 1908). According to this author there are at present Roman Catholics:

Armenians (Uniate)	72,292
Syrian Melchites	138,733
Maronites	284,600
Uniate Nestorians (Chaldeans)	63,950
Uniate Jacobites	20,200
Members of the Oriental Rites	579,775
Roman Catholics of the Latin Rite	50,022
	629,797

Albania, Philippopolis, Constantinople, Egypt, Abyssinia, and Erythrea (altogether 256,643 in our statistics) are not included in this table. In spite of this reduction Krose has but about 60,000 less than our table.

If we add this total to the eight million adherents of the ancient Oriental Churches, we find that nearly nine million Christians have remained faithful to Christianity under the Turkish yoke. When we consider the thirteen centuries of ruthless repression which these Christians have suffered, and when we remember that almost all those parts of Turkey, the population of which was preponderatingly Christian, have, in the course of the nineteenth century, been freed from the Turkish yoke, so that their Christian population is excluded from these statistics, it is surely an honourable testimony to the fidelity of these Churches, that so many have remained steadfast.

But not only from this point of view is this short description of the Roman propaganda of interest here. Of greater importance is it, that we thus make the acquaintance of the most powerful and dangerous competitor of the Protestant endeavours, which are to engage our attention in these pages. For Rome is a rival without consideration for the rights and feelings of the other party, and sees in Protestantism an intruder and deadly enemy, which must be opposed at any cost, whether by intrigue and calumny or even by violence. For the Roman propaganda judges rightly that wherever a population is permeated by the Protestant spirit, the prospect of "union" with Rome is hopeless. And this "union," *i. e.*, ecclesiastical absorption of "schismatic" Churches, is the consistent aim of the Roman Church.

This Romish competition is a threat to the Protestant missions for two reasons. (*a*) First, on account of the astounding growth of Roman missionary activity during the last half of the nineteenth century. We take Palestine as a striking example of this.

The "custody" of the Holy Land had been entrusted to the Franciscan order ever since the time of the Crusades. The Franciscans represented and guarded Roman interests in the holy places, and looked after the few scattered thousands of Roman Christians. In 1847 Pius IX founded a Latin patriarchate in Jerusalem, and since that time Roman Orders of

the most varied types have flocked into the country. Some of these carry on direct missionary work, *e. g.*, the Philistian Mission, 1879, the German Lazarists and the Benedictine monks and nuns. Others care for the holy places, maintain hospices for pilgrims or open schools for the native Catholic population; *e. g.*, the Carmelites in Haifa, the Sisters of Zion, the White Fathers, the Dominicans, the Assumptionists, the Lazarists, the Salesians of Dom Bosco, the Brothers of Christian Schools, the Sisters of Nazareth, the Sisters of St. Joseph, the Rosecrucian Sisters, the Benedictine Nuns and the American Sisters. There are also special hospices for German, French and Austrian Catholics. Other orders and brotherhoods do deeds of mercy in hospitals and dispensaries; *e. g.*, the Sisters of St. Vincent and the Brothers of Mercy. Some again lead the contemplative life, as the Trappists in Latrun, the priests of the Heart of Jesus in Betharram near Bethlehem, the Passionists in Bethany, the French Lazarists in Jerusalem and the Carmelite Nuns. There are fully thirty Orders, Brotherhoods, and Associations that have thus streamed into the Holy Land since the middle of the last century. Rev. L. Schneller, D. D. (*Bote aus Zion*, 1905, p. 60), counts from 350 to 400 members of male orders and priests in twenty-four monasteries, from 250 to 300 members of female orders in twenty convents, eighteen hospices, six higher schools, forty-six day schools, sixteen orphanages with seven hundred orphans, four industrial schools, five hospitals (*Die Katholischen Missionen* 35, pp. 172, 195; *Bote aus Zion*, 1905, p. 49). Compared with this array, the number of Protestant mission workers is pitifully small. Though nowhere else so strong as in Palestine, yet nearly everywhere the Roman mission workers are multiplying in the Oriental mission fields. Protestants can nowhere compete with them numerically.

(*b*) The competition of the Roman Church is severe, in the second place, because for the last quarter of a century the Roman propaganda has been devoting all its energy to the hitherto neglected cause of primary and higher education. It has realized the fact that the strength of Protestant missions

lies in their schools, and is determined to outdistance the Protestants in this respect also. Large sums are expended in enlarging and developing the "Catholic Missionary University," the St. Joseph's University in Beirut. Chair after chair is being founded, even in such subjects as epigraphy, the comparative study of Semitic languages, and the Ethiopian language and literature. The university possesses a very complete and valuable library. In addition large colleges are being constantly founded to compete with the colleges of Protestant missions. Thus the Capuchin college in Mesereh (in the province of Mamuret el Aziz) is the rival of the Euphrates College of the American Board in Kharput, the Jesuit college in Tokat competes with the Anatolia college of the American Board in Marsovan, and the Jesuit college of the Holy Trinity in Cairo, with the United Presbyterian college in Assiut. As the Roman missionaries charge very small fees, or none at all, in their well-fitted colleges, hundreds of students are flocking to them. Protestant schools and colleges will feel the strain of this competition still more keenly when the Roman institutions, now in part in a state of development, shall have been fully equipped. It is to be observed how diligently the Roman Church copies the Protestant methods in order to gain a position of superiority in the East.

5. *The Russian Church*

We have considered the Oriental Churches with their peculiarities and the untiring Roman propagandism. A third factor must be taken into account, if we are to appreciate all the complicated and militant forces that hinder the Protestant missions, namely the undermining work of the *Russian* Church, secret, yet almost everywhere active, and in a measure successful. It is well known that one of the most important of Russia's fixed political purposes is to gain free access, by way of the Golden Horn, to the great highroad of world commerce running through the Mediterranean. This is the centre of Russian policy in the Balkan Peninsula as in Asiatic Turkey. In the *Balkan Peninsula* Russia has had a

congenial task in attaching to herself the large and vigorous Slavic nations there by means of the ideal of Panslavism, and by encouraging their desire for political and ecclesiastical independence. In Asiatic Turkey she has won a foothold through the ancient Churches. Closely related to the Russian Church in creed and ritual, and ardently desiring that the Turkish yoke be removed, or at least be made more endurable, it is no wonder that the Greek Orthodox Churches in Asia Minor set their hopes on the two-headed eagle of Russia. In *Syria* and *Palestine* Russia has attempted to widen the breach between the Greek-speaking hierarchy and the Arabic-speaking congregations by encouraging the latter to demand the use of Arabic in churches and schools in place of the Greek language which has been forced upon them, thus awakening their consciousness of being not Greeks but Syrian Arabs. *Divide et impera!* To this end Russia maintains in Syria and Palestine 101 schools with 10,430 pupils and 363 teachers, of whom twenty-three are Russians. Russia has also a hand in the nomination of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, and usually succeeds in getting her candidates elected. In *Egypt* Russia even succeeded in securing the election of a native of Russia, Nicanor, as Patriarch of Alexandria (1866–1870). The Negus of Abyssinia himself begins to regard the Russian Church as most closely related to the Abyssinian, in spite of the Monophysitism of the latter, and is meditating union with her. There is, however, no immediate prospect of the fulfillment of this plan in spite of the endless missions and expeditions which are sent backwards and forwards. In *Armenia* the influence which Russia exercises on the nation by means of its Church has been greatly increased by the fact that half of Armenia, including Echmiadzin, the venerable seat of the Armenian Catholicos, has already passed into Russia's hands. For the Armenian Church it would be a disastrous triumph of state and church policy, if Russia should succeed in incorporating the rest of the Armenian provinces, namely the vilayets of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis and Diarbekr, in her territory, and should then assimilate the entire Armenian

Church. We shall have later to deal with the Russian annexation of the Nestorian Church in *Northwestern Persia*. In this account of the ceaseless activity of the Roman Church aiming at ecclesiastical union, and of the Russian State striving for political aggrandizement, we have sketched the dark background of Protestant mission work in the Near East.

6. *The Position of Christians under Turkish Rule*[1]

The position of Christians under Turkish rule has varied at different times and in different places. Especially in the times immediately following the Turkish conquest, when the Muhammadan power did not feel sufficiently established, or in districts in which there was a large Christian majority evidently in a position to claim a certain amount of protection from the government, the lot of the Christians was tolerable. For instance, in the Monophysitic Church in Egypt and in the Nestorian Church in Persia conditions were so satisfactory, that they enjoyed a period of prosperity. In all Muhammadan lands the Christians enjoyed a greater or less degree of religious liberty and political representation, since their rulers were well aware that it was impossible for them to direct the affairs of the Christian communities. Compared with the autocratic ecclesiastical despotism under which the Orthodox Greek Church had groaned, when subject to the Christian emperors of Byzantium, this measure of autonomy in such matters as marriage laws, and laws of inheritance, was a distinct gain. To be sure only the Greek and Armenian Churches enjoyed these privileges to the full, because the Osmanli Sultan, Muhammad II, after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, appointed the Orthodox Greek Patriarch as "Official Administrator of all orthodox subjects in the Turkish Empire," and the Armenian Patriarch (in 1461) as "Head of all the Christians in the Orient," *i. e.*, of all non-"orthodox" Christians. The rest of the Christian Churches had to be content to be

[1] This paragraph was written before the 24th of July, 1908, when the constitution was granted by the Sultan. Cf. Chap. III, 7.

represented by these two dignitaries until, beginning in 1831, the Porte granted them one after another the right to manage their own affairs. Then, too, through the centuries the mental elasticity of the Christian population, combined with the political backwardness of the Muhammadans who had come to power by brute force, tended to raise Christian families into positions of influence at court. Thus there were Christian physicians and scholars at the court of the Abbassides in Bagdad, and great merchants and bankers, "Fanariots," in Constantinople. And the influential position of such men benefited the Christian Churches in many ways.

On the whole, however, the Christians were oppressed, the yoke becoming more and more galling from century to century. Muhammad had adopted no fixed attitude towards the Christians. As long as he hoped to gain them over to his own religion, he showed them favour. Disappointed in this, he warned his followers to have no communion with them. In Sura IX: 28 he says: "Oh, ye Christians, only those are unclean, who associate other Gods (Christ, Mary !) with Allah"; again in Sura III: 27: "Let not the Faithful enter into friendship with the Infidels in preference to the Faithful"; again in Sura III: 108: "The wrath of Allah shall smite them (the Christians), poverty shall be their lot, because they have not believed the signs of God (wrought by the Prophet)." These expressions of dislike and hostility have determined the attitude of his successors.

Two years after the Prophet's death, *i. e.*, in 634, Omar compelled Christians to sign the following agreement: "We promise not to build any new monasteries or churches, nor to repair ruinous ones in our cities and suburbs. Moslems may at any time enter our churches. We will entertain Moslem travellers for three successive days. We will not grant asylum either in our churches or houses to enemies of the state. We will neither teach our children the Koran, nor exaggerate our Law (the Bible). We will prevent no one from becoming a Muhammadan. We will not assume the Muhammadan mode of cutting the hair, nor wear our hair in their fashion; nor use their greeting, '*salem alaikum*'; nor adopt their names.

When riding, we will use no saddle, nor will we carry arms. We will not engrave our seals with Arabic characters, nor will we sell spirituous liquors. We will shave our foreheads and wear a belt about the body. When we pass through streets or market-places where Muhammadans are walking, we will exhibit neither the cross nor the Bible. We will ring our bells softly, not speak in the presence of Muhammadans, nor sing at our funerals, nor lay our dead near any Muhammadan quarter. We will not buy any slave belonging to a Muhammadan. These are the conditions which we sign, and on the strength of them we and our people may enjoy the protection of the Khalif."

This is the spirit of the later regulations of the Khalifs and verdicts of the Ulamas. The *Zimmy* (Christian subjects) are not allowed to ride horses, mules, or valuable asses; may not frequent public streets, nor linger in groups to talk with one another; nor have any servants following them in the bazars; nor speak loudly. Their houses may not be high (at any rate not higher than those of the Muhammadans), nor airy, nor decorated; their clothes must be of plain dark material; and their turbans may not be white. They are thus to be openly humiliated. If they attempt in any way to excel Muhammadans, or to gain power over them, they shall be punished with death. No Muhammadan may sell land to a Zimmy; but the latter is under an obligation to sell his field to any Muhammadan who may wish to have it. The Faithful are not allowed to greet a Zimmy. A Zimmy may never take a seat of honour in any assembly. Under no circumstances is his witness against a Moslem in a court of justice to be decisive. And the Zimmy have to pay a poll tax. Khalif Omar fixed this at forty-eight *dirham* for the rich, twenty-four for the middle classes, and twelve for the poor; but subsequent rulers altered the tax at pleasure, always a profitable method of extortion. Perhaps the most dreadful tax was the blood tax. Turkish Sultans in 1329 and 1360 formed Janissary regiments entirely of young Christian captives who had been forced to become Muhammadans. These renegades, who were favoured and pampered in

many ways, were destined to be the scourge of their parents if the latter refused to be converted to Islam. Sultan Murad specially ordained that this troop was to be recruited solely from Christian captives and from the young men of recently subjected Christian territories. It was terrible when the Turkish recruiting officers passed through the villages, enlisting the flower of Christian youth and placing them in these Janissary regiments for the express purpose of systematically training them to be deadly enemies of Christianity. Demoralization was also bound to be the effect of regulations such as the infamous *jadid ul Islam* in Persia, stating the privileges of the newly converted: A Moslem, whether he be a Moslem by birth or by conversion, is forbidden on pain of death to embrace Christianity. But if a Christian woman embraces Islam, which sometimes happened in consequence of temporary family quarrels, and which could be effected by the use of a very simple formula, this law gives her the possessions of her father, mother and relations to the seventh degree.[1] Nor were these measures of oppression and humiliation sufficient to satisfy the Moslems or to crush the hated Christians. The last resort was barbarous cruelty. Well-nigh every century can tell of persecutions in this or that Muhammadan country, once a Christian land. The most fearful of them are crowded into the nineteenth century. In letters of blood are inscribed on the pages of the history of the Oriental Churches the massacres of 1822 in the island of Chios; 1845, in Kurdistan; 1860, in the Lebanon; 1875, in Herzegovina; 1876, in Bulgaria; 1894–1896, in Armenia. Any Christian population, when it threatens to cause annoyance or to become dangerous by reason of its increasing influence, is to be kept low by the simple expedient of copious blood-letting.

In the course of the nineteenth century, under the twofold influence of the growing prosperity of the Christian Churches and of the irresistible advance of the Christian Occident with

[1] Fortunately, humane officials and judges are said, as a rule, not to enforce this law. But what a fearful weapon it must be, when in the hands of fanatical Moslems!

its civilization, some of these oppressive regulations were mitigated. The poll tax has been supplanted by a tax for exemption from service in the army. The regulations touching dress have fallen into oblivion, though the native Christians are still distinguishable by their peculiar clothing. Here and there new churches have been erected and even provided with bells, although in every such case interminable negotiations and strong pressure on the Turkish authorities were necessary. The fundamental feeling of Muhammadans towards Christians remains the same. Thus (1) *conversion to Christianity is a crime punishable with death.* If the authorities themselves, fearing the intervention of European Powers, do not put the renegade to death, every orthodox Moslem considers it an honourable duty to remove him by assassination, and in so doing will have the approval of popular opinion. Even the magistrates and judges devise means whereby, in spite of treaties, renegades are secretly put out of the way. (2) *The witness of a Christian against a Moslem is of no weight.* "One of the Faithful may not be put to death on account of an unbeliever." Practically, Christians have no legal standing in an Islamitic court in lawsuits with Muhammadans. (3) Generally speaking, Christians are *tolerated* in Muhammadan countries only on condition of their submitting to humiliating agreements. If they free themselves from these fetters either by their own exertions or even by the help of the European Powers, they are held to have broken the agreement, and are themselves to blame if their Muhammadan masters treat them as outlaws. Attempts at reform are therefore regarded by the Muhammadans as revolutionary, and to repress them with brutal force is considered to be a meritorious act.

The long oppression of the Christian population has had a depressing effect, paralyzing mental activity and economic development. No people can be enslaved for centuries without deteriorating intellectually and morally. Shut out from political life, and not allowed to enter the army except in the shameful form of renegade Janissaries, Christians had only the Church and trade as fields of activity. But whenever

they succeeded in business, they aroused the envy and cupidity of their Muhammadan neighbours and were mercilessly robbed, either with or without the appearance of justice. The only wonder is that commercial enterprise did not die out among the Greeks and Armenians, even as it did among the Kopts and Nestorians, under the influence of the constant fear of being shamefully robbed of their hard-won gains. It is not strange that honest trade dwindled under such oppression and degenerated into an endeavour to outwit and cheat one's neighbours, and to secrete the accumulated profits.

Church life was at a low ebb even at the time of the Muhammadan invasion. The Monophysitic Churches of Armenia, Syria and Egypt were separated as by high barriers from the Greek Church, while the Nestorian Church in Persia was separated from all the rest. Doctrinal controversies had exhausted the best strength of the Greek Church, and the fact that, in a great measure, the influence of the imperial court decided their issue, had a very embittering effect upon these disputes. Not that there did not appear an occasional exhibition of spiritual vigour in one or another of these distracted Churches. But in the course of centuries the fearful pressure of humiliating subjection settled as a fatal blight on their life. True the Churches, with praiseworthy persistence, held fast to their ancient languages. But when Arabic gained a footing in the south and Turkish in the north, these languages either died out or gradually underwent such a development that the original forms were more or less unintelligible among the common people. To the former class belong the Koptic language in Egypt; West Syrian among the Maronites and Jacobites, and Greek among the Orthodox Greeks in Syria; to the latter the Geez language in Abyssinia; East Syrian among the Nestorians; Old-Armenian among the Armenians; and, to a great extent, classic Greek among the modern Greeks. And even this praiseworthy persistency hampered church life, for the congregations did not understand the service any more, and even the priests understood it less and less. Public worship degenerated into the

reciting of interminable and unintelligible prayers, with hardly any intelligent participation on the part of either clergy or people. Even among the higher clergy, in the ranks of the bishops and patriarchs, the love of study disappeared. In 1821 there were among the 180 highest clergy of the Orthodox Greek Church barely ten with any sort of a theological education. Nor was there at that time a single theological college in that Church. Only in 1844 was one founded in the island of Chalki near Constantinople, and in 1853 a second in the Monastery of the Cross near Jerusalem. To the present day there is none in the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch. Even these few colleges are, as a rule, accessible only to the celibate higher clergy or to those who hope to become such. The lower grades of clergy in town and country are married, though for the most part they may not marry after they have entered the priesthood. This partial abolition of the requirement of celibacy has had a beneficial effect upon the morality of the congregations. In another respect the priests are not so fortunate. There are scarcely any benefices, nor is there any fixed salary. The incomes of the lower clergy are therefore very poor. The result is twofold. (*a*) Only men of the lower strata of the people can be induced to enter the ministry, and there is no provision at all made for their methodical training. Congregations generally choose a workman, tradesman, or peasant of decent reputation, who can read passably. Him they present to the bishop for ordination. He becomes a reader or deacon and is told to learn by heart as quickly as possible the liturgies, which are composed in a language more or less strange to him, and to perfect himself in conducting the important religious ceremonies. It is a decided step forward that a course of study lasting at least a few months has now been arranged in some churches, or that the younger aspirants are sent to older priests to be taught. They receive no further preparation prior to ordination. These inferior priests are therefore mostly ignorant men, utterly incapable of giving religious instruction to the people. The great majority are unable to preach at all; they can read

only with difficulty, and are content to know by heart their church catechism in the vulgar tongue.

(*b*) The second evil result of the absence of a regular salary is that these priests are forced to get money by methods of their own devising, and the easiest and most effective method is that of extorting fees from their congregations. Apart from the sacraments all kinds of ceremonies, as well as superstitious customs, are suitable opportunities for doing this.

No wonder, then, that, owing to the poverty of the people and the condition of the inferior clergy, the church buildings are in a dilapidated condition, and that the church furniture and the priestly vestments are poor and dirty. The monastic system has fallen into discredit and decay throughout all the Churches, except in Egypt and the allied Church of Abyssinia, and in such monastic colonies as that on Mount Athos. Monks are considered to be lazy and immoral do-nothings. The fact that the higher clergy are compelled to be celibate raises them a little in the popular estimation.

If the education of the clergy is so extraordinarily meagre, it is not to be wondered at that, before the beginning of Protestant educational activity and the recent advance of civilization, education among the common people was in an even worse state, indeed all but nil. To the present day there is no educational system in Turkey. In each church or other religious community it is the business of the superiors to provide education for the children under their charge, a fact that must be taken into consideration, when passing judgment upon missionary educational activity. When the Protestants first arrived on the field, there was hardly any educational work being done by the Churches, and, as a result of this religious and intellectual neglect, there was a boundless ignorance, and all sorts of superstition, approaching idolatry, in their veneration of icons. Yet their Church was to these peoples, deprived as they were of all political ideals, despised and trodden under foot by arbitrary rulers, and shut off from the great intellectual Christian world, their highest good. Whatever there was in them of enthusiasm, of self-sacrificing love, of

higher aspirations, has been centred for centuries in their Churches. Outside there were only material interests, or hopeless darkness and misery. National feeling found its strength and stay in the bond of church unity. Nation and Church became blended in one.

We have arrived thus at a point at which we must take our bearings by answering the question:

7. *What is the Justification of Protestant Missions Among the Oriental Christian Churches?*

There is in some quarters a feeling that Protestant missionary activity should be confined to non-Christians. We Protestants hold that genuine faith may be exercised, that communion with God may be enjoyed and the salvation of the soul secured, even in the less creditable forms of Christianity and church organization. We dislike the fanaticism that compasses land and sea to make one proselyte. And we reverence historical ecclesiastical organizations, especially if they have stood the test of fiery trials. Thus, since the massacres of 1895 and 1896 our respect for the Armenian Church, which, in other regards, has not enjoyed the sympathy of the Christian Church at large in any great measure, has increased. A national Church, thousands of whose members willingly die for their faith, evidences thereby its vitality and justifies its existence. It is true that the Protestant Church has been entrusted with the safe-keeping of peculiar treasures such as the free use of God's Word, clearer insight into God's purposes of love, the abrogation of priestly power, and the treasures of Christian literature; and that the possession of each such gift carries with it the duty of working among all who are less favoured. It is true also that the need of the Oriental Churches is apparent at a glance, when one compares them, oppressed, uneducated, impoverished, with the flourishing Churches of the Protestant Occident. The contrast was even greater when a century ago the Protestant Churches were beginning their mission work, for at that time the great invasion of the Near East by the culture of the West had scarcely

begun, and the ancient Churches lay under the débris of economical and religious ruin.

Yet would it not be possible to reform these Churches thoroughly from within, thus avoiding on the one hand the deplorable effects of a schism in the several Churches, and conserving on the other hand that sense of nationality which, as we have seen, is practically identical with church loyalty? We must consider at some length the relation of the Protestant missionary activity to the *national ideal* and to the *ideal of church unity.*

Opponents of Protestant missions in the Near East have advanced the argument that in all the Oriental Churches religion and national loyalty are indissolubly united, that this union of the two most precious assets of a nation, clung to by peoples languishing for centuries under the cruel yoke of the Turks, has been their salvation and the secret of their survival, and that therefore every secession from the national Church is treason to the national cause. The unscrupulous propaganda of Rome, hovering over them for centuries, now enticingly and again threateningly, has had a share in rendering the members of the ancient Churches sensitively hostile to all foreign interference. Rome's considerable success in her efforts at proselytizing has notoriously weakened these remnants of nations. The formation of Protestant Churches, it is argued, is driving in another wedge, and so increasing the disruption. It is digging the grave of nations that have survived all the winter storms of Turkish tyranny, only to be led to destruction by a deceptive Protestant propaganda, backed by a superior culture and a full money bag. If national existence is to be saved, the national Churches must at all costs remain intact.

In reply to this argument it must be said, in the first place, that this patriotism which is to be conserved varies greatly in strength and purity. We are helped to form a sober estimate of it by the fact that the Syrian Nestorians deserted their venerable ancient Church in 1898 to enter the Orthodox Church, solely for the purpose of securing the protection of

Russia. Nor is it likely that any one acquainted with the country and people will form a particularly high opinion of the national sentiments of Christians in Palestine and Syria. These Syrians, by reason of their being so ardently wooed by politicians, have generally formed an inordinately high estimate of their own value, and are bent on offering themselves to the highest bidder.

In the second place it must be maintained that the identification of the nation with the Church is a danger to the church life. National questions are the bane of Turkey, making of her internal policy an inextricable tangle. We refrain from offering an opinion on the political aspect of these questions; but it is notorious that the more the different tribes inhabiting the Balkans and Asiatic Turkey have fought for their national unity and their political future, the more sadly have questions that do not have to do with political existence or supremacy fallen into neglect. Religious interests secede into the background, are swallowed up in these political aspirations, or are even employed to further them. One has only to think of the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Greeks outside of Greece, the Armenians and others. A diseased nationalism renders the work of Protestant missionaries uncommonly difficult, although they can with a good conscience be acquitted of mixing themselves up with political intrigues, in this respect comparing very favourably with their Roman competitors. They suffer sorely from the suspicion and the constant accusation of being the agents of the political intentions of one or other of the great powers. Viewing this contest from a distance we believe it is a great boon to the national Churches, that, in the midst of this political hubbub, this ebullition of contending national aims, they have, standing side by side with them, Protestant missions which have as their sole aim the moral and religious elevation of the people, and seek only to establish the Kingdom of God. It would be a thousand pities, were these noble nations to be wrecked on the rock of national intrigue after all the conflicts of a glorious past. The Protestant missions, by very reason of their entirely non-political

character, are the faithful friends of these Churches, pointing them ever to the religious sources whence they may derive true strength.

In the third place we affirm that conversion to Protestantism does not destroy genuine national feeling. Christian missions, whether among civilized or uncivilized nations, whether among Armenians or the Papuas, have to face the objection that they are ruining the national spirit, since every one who joins them ceases to be one of his own people. Yet the most persistent repetition of it does not make the objection true, for it rests on a delusion. It is true that in Europe also the principle "*cuius regio ejus religio*" has been the creed of statesmen for a long time, but we have learned at last that church and nation are not necessarily identical quantities. We suffer much from the rupture between Wittenberg and Rome, yet no honest Protestant in Germany would for a moment grant that the Reformation was a national misfortune. He will only deplore the fact that it has not penetrated the whole nation. Just the same is it with the founding of Protestant Churches in the Orient; and matters have improved even in Turkey to such a degree that the members of Protestant Churches can, in spite of their creed, stand shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots. The sufferings common to Armenians and Protestant converts during the persecutions of 1895 have brought them so close together that their pastors exchange pulpits with one another, that their congregations have in some cases founded schools in common, and that in certain circles the Protestants are asking themselves whether they may not now return to the old Church in order to act as a leaven in it.

So much for the argument that the founding of Protestant Churches destroys the national spirit. Of greater weight is the objection that a schism in the Oriental Churches is full of evil results for the religious life. Experience teaches that in many cases of proselytism much blind fanaticism and narrow-minded hostility are let loose and that the proselytes are not religiously improved, developing rather a ruinous spiritual

pride. Opponents of Protestant missions in the Orient urge that this very condition of affairs exists there. According to them, though the ancient Churches are admitted to be deficient in some points, yet there is nothing to prevent a thorough reformation from within. A better knowledge of church history would, they say, enable us to estimate at their proper value the spiritual treasures and the peculiar beauty which the ancient Churches possess, in spite of evident traces of decay. And it is at any rate a fundamental mistake to graft on the venerable stem of these ancient Churches with their episcopal government, their grand liturgies, and their solemn services, any modern American form of democratic Congregationalism or Presbyterianism with their lack of historic episcopate and liturgy.

These are indeed weighty arguments, containing a certain amount of just criticism, and helping us to understand certain painful facts to be presented by us in subsequent pages. Yet by shooting far beyond the mark this criticism becomes guilty of injustice. Let us examine it without prejudice. The great Protestant missions have been sent to the Near East with the earnest desire, not to found new Churches, but, by self-denying service and by the introduction of Protestant vitality, to prepare the way for reform from within. The development of the missions has been the same in nearly every case. Sooner or later the authorities of the native Churches have pushed away the hand offered to them and have set about exorcising the missions and their adherents. This inevitably led to a crisis. The missions had to decide whether they should desist from the task in the face of such opposition—some have done so—or, as the majority of them have done, risk the formation of separate Protestant Churches, and continue their work in the face of the inevitable conflicts.

Were they right in coming to this decision? There is no article of Protestant faith which excludes an episcopacy. Accordingly episcopal preëminence and the long liturgies with their acknowledged beauty might have been tolerated by the democratic Congregationalists. Deep-rooted superstition

might eventually have been conquered after a long and dreary battle. The want of education among the inferior clergy might have been met by the founding of grammar schools and colleges. Even celibacy among the higher clergy would not have been impossible to Protestantism. Therefore, given mutual good-will, agreement would not have been out of the question. But there would still have remained difficulties almost insuperable. Ecclesiastical tradition, in which the religious life is everywhere rooted, dies hard. It has the glamour of centuries upon it. Now the venerable ecclesiastical usages of most of the Eastern Churches include the retention of a forgotten language in the services, the veneration of images and relics, and praying to the saints, above all very long and strict fasting, and an excessive number of feasts. It would have demanded great self-renunciation on the part of the leaders of those Churches to join with the missionary societies in combating these obstructive traditions. And had the Protestants for their part armed themselves with the meekness of Jesus in addition to possessing the most highly developed historical sense, even this could not have done away with the fact that the doctrinal systems of these Churches—some Monophysitic, others Nestorian—were too stunted and insufficient to be retained. And had the church leaders persisted in adhering to them, even though there had been in other respects the best will to come to an agreement, negotiations must have failed. It is all in vain, when Lutherans attempt to revivify the Nestorian Church on the basis of the Augsburg Confession, or when high-church Anglicans set themselves with untiring diligence to disinter the venerable Nestorian liturgies, as if there were no dogmatic differences. The deep chasm is still unbridged and can be ignored only as long as there is the profoundest good-will on both sides. As soon as it became clear that this good-will could not be expected from the leaders of the Oriental Churches, the question which faced the missionaries was not merely how they could most patiently bear the chicanery of the church authorities, but how they could go forward in face of the opposition of these authorities. At first

the missionary motto was "Reform—with the aid of the authorities if possible"; now it is "Reform—without the help of, and, if need be, in opposition to the authorities."

The immense difficulty of pursuing such a course in Churches which have been for centuries under the control of the priests could be surmounted only by the formation of separate Churches. But the ideal of reform remains constant. The more so as Protestant missions in the Near East were begun with the definite idea of reaching the Muhammadans by means of the existing Oriental Churches. If it were possible to restore the Oriental Churches to their original purity and vitality, and to fill them with a lively missionary spirit, they would be the grandest practical demonstration of Christianity to the surrounding Muhammadan masses; the best and most effectual missionaries because native to the soil. Above all, in this way one of the greatest hindrances to the spread of Christianity in Muhammadan countries would be removed, namely, the horror the Muhammadans have of the supposed idolatry and polytheism of the Christians. We must, alas, recognize the fact, that this fond hope of the pioneers of Protestant missions has not been realized. Not one of the larger ancient Churches has roused itself to undertake such radical reforms as would remove the stumbling-blocks for Muhammadans. It has also become evident that the friction which has obtained for centuries between Christians and Moslems living in close contact with each other has produced such deep-rooted animosity and mutual contempt, as well as such a strong feeling of racial incompatibility, that the native Christians are little adapted for service in missions among Muhammadans. It has also proved to be the case that at the present time the Oriental Churches are still too much under the yoke to defy their Muhammadan rulers by permitting Muhammadans to join them. Christians are tolerated only on the condition that they abstain from making proselytes of Muhammadans. Should they receive Muhammadans who become Christians into their churches or even harbour them in their homes, they would forfeit whatever

amount of freedom they now enjoy, exposing themselves afresh to persecution.

Yet the fundamental principle of the pioneers was a sound one. The great task of the Christian Church is the spiritual reconquest of these lost provinces of the Church, until at last the cradle-lands of Christianity be again under the shadow of the Cross. In this campaign of reconquest, the ancient Christian peoples and remnants of peoples naturally play a prominent part. Wherever they are in a compact mass with a firm political and ecclesiastical organization, as in Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria and Greece, the political development of the last century has freed them from the Turkish yoke, and in every one of these liberated countries, the return to Christianity has been astonishing, Islam having been completely thrust into the background. Where the Christians are a minority, political and ecclesiastical progress is more difficult and slower. In such cases the Christians must be first raised from the degradation caused by the contempt and neglect of their oppressors. They must be elevated by the education of mind and spirit till they are in a position to compete economically with their more favoured neighbours. It seems impossible to imagine a re-Christianization of the East, save through the vitalizing of the ancient Churches. No lesser aim should satisfy us. Have Protestant missions contributed much to a general intellectual and spiritual restoration of these ancient Christian peoples? Our further enquiry will prove that we may confidently and joyfully answer, yes. Here we will simply mention a few points that are important for the correct understanding of subsequent chapters of this book, always remembering that we have to apply to these missions a standard different from that applied to missions among non-Christians, since in this case the formation of separate churches is not the main object of the mission work, but only an inevitable consequence which has hardly ever caused the missionaries to loose sight of their chief purpose of reform.

Protestant missions and Bible societies deserve great praise

for translating, printing and distributing the Holy Scriptures in all the languages and dialects of the Oriental Churches, and for selling them so cheaply that they may be in the hands of all. In most of the languages of the Christian populations —Arabic, Armenian, Bulgarian—Protestants have laid the foundation of a healthy, popular Christian literature, while in other cases they have been the first to introduce a written language.

Day schools have everywhere received careful attention, and higher schools have been founded. The Robert College near Constantinople, the colleges in Marsovan, Kharput, Aintab, Marash, Tarsus and Assiut are leading higher education in the Near East. The Syrian Protestant College in Beirut is the best and most advanced Christian school in the whole of Turkey.

The only competitors of these schools are not the native Christian schools, but those of the Roman Missions. Nor may we underestimate the value of the founding of separate Christian Churches, in spite of all that is to be regretted in connection with them. The course of their history has in general run thus: after the rupture was complete, the ancient Church shut itself up against Protestant aims in a spirit of suspicion and hostility, placing every possible obstacle in the way of influencing its people. Those were critical times of patient endurance, when the missionaries felt as if they had been put into the corner. Their only hope lay in the small Protestant congregations, which they cherished with all the greater solicitude since these were to be an object-lesson to the resisting Churches. When, at times, the question was raised in these Protestant Churches, whether, out of national loyalty they ought not to return to their native Church, the answer was generally in the negative. And the reason given was characteristic. They said: While we maintain a separate position as Protestants, our very existence and all our institutions are an incentive to the old Churches to reform themselves, and to clear away the rubbish of their antiquated usages; but if we return to the old Church, we shall our-

selves come under the influence of the old spirit of stagnation, our salt will lose its savour. And it is in truth our judgment, after having looked at the matter from all sides, that the flourishing little Protestant congregations under the care of the missionaries are the most effectual spur to the ancient Churches.

The general picture, presented to the careful observer of the present day, differs from that which confronted the first pioneers. At that time there were but oppressed remnants of nations struggling for bare existence; to-day we see powerfully aspiring, strenuous, intelligent peoples, which Turkey cannot disregard and which play an important part in Oriental politics. This change is not to be ascribed solely to the work of the Protestant missions, yet these have had a considerable share in bringing it about.

The Anglican Bishop Th. V. French, is a valuable witness to this penetrating influence, especially of the American missions. He had strong high church leanings and entered upon his extensive journeyings in the East with a prejudice against the "proselytism" of the Americans. Yet, in writing an official report to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he says that he had everywhere met with proof of the stimulating, vivifying effect of the schools, public worship and other efforts of the Americans in various Oriental Churches ("Life of Bishop French," Vol. II, p. 262).

A late annual report of the United Presbyterian Mission in Egypt presents impartially the light and shade of the relation between the old and the Protestant Churches in that land:

"In some localities, evangelical truth has gained such an influence, that many who have not united with us, like nevertheless to be called 'Protestants.' But in many regions, that name is still most cordially hated. Everywhere, the ecclesiastical authorities are, either openly or secretly, hostile. They represent us as a foreign and schismatic sect. The Koptic community is urged to cling together to preserve its national and ecclesiastical life. This appeal doubtless deters many who

would otherwise cast in their lot with the Evangelical Church. Inducements of office and honour are used also to hold men of influence, and sometimes even to draw such back when they have left the Church. We seem compelled to believe that the adoption by the Koptic Church of some of our methods, such as the introduction of preaching into church services at some places, has as its chief aim the holding rather than the edifying of the people. In any case, the presence of these new features gives a semblance of life, causing the people to feel less need of looking towards the Evangelical Church, and making them less approachable. Here and there are found enlightened, earnest Christians who retain their connection with the old Church. But they have nearly always gotten their light from outside, and still go outside for their spiritual food. One of these acknowledged to the writer that within his Church as a whole 'spirituality does not exist.' One cannot but feel some sympathy with the desire of this ancient Church to hold together; but in the absence of spiritual life, it amounts to weighing of tradition and sentiment against eternal truth and eternal life. If the day shall ever come that God shall breathe upon these dry bones and cause them to live and rise up to serve Him by some better process than the naturally slow and painful one of wrenching the members one by one out of their own and into another organization, it will be welcomed by our mission. But that day is not yet here. The Evangelical Church stands as the only rallying point for true faith and life and service" (Unit. Presby. Ann. Rep. 1907, 52).

8. *Has the Time Come for Muhammadan Missions in the Near East?*

This, too, is a much discussed question, that is answered as often in the negative as in the affirmative. The historical development may be briefly stated, as follows: Missions were sent to do work among Muhammadans by first bringing new life into the old Churches. It was found that this preparatory work was more difficult than had been expected, and on it all effort was at first concentrated. Then it dawned upon the

missionaries that their work among the old Churches was leading not to, but away from mission work among Muhammadans. The chasm separating the Muhammadan and Christian populations is so deep that it is well-nigh impossible to reach both by starting from the same point and employing the same agents. Accordingly some of the missions have begun a Muhammadan mission side by side with their work among the old Churches, others have confined themselves to the latter work, while certain societies have begun to work exclusively among Muhammadans. The motto "One as a means to the other" has been changed to "One or the other, or the two side by side."

Now there is no difference of opinion among Protestant missionaries that the Muhammadans need the Gospel of salvation in Christ, seeing there is no "salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved." That the convert stands in danger of his life is no reason for delaying Muhammadan missions, for in every new field, particular dangers must be faced at the beginning. The Lord has told us that beforehand. Again, 160 out of the 225 millions of Muhammadans are under Christian rule. It is evidently the duty of Christian colonial governments to secure religious liberty, in so far at least that throughout the length and breadth of their territories every one shall have a legal right to embrace Christianity and shall be protected in the exercise of this right. And this is the case in most of the colonies of the Christian Powers.

But it is contended that it is not right to carry on Protestant missionary work among the thirty-eight millions of Muhammadans under Turkish, Persian or Moroccan rule. Yet it is with these latter we have to do in this volume.

No doubt great difficulties confront mission work in the Near East. Public preaching of the Gospel is forbidden in the streets and bazars. The opening of mission schools for Muhammadan children is difficult, such schools being often forcibly closed by command of the mollah or the government. Muhammadans, too, are forbidden to send their children to

such schools. The distribution of the Scriptures is rendered difficult, and the publishing of polemic literature directed against Islam is unlawful. There is a tiresome struggle with the authorities over the building of any church or chapel, and if it be found that such buildings are intended for work among Muhammadans, permission to build is withheld. When individual Moslems seek to enter into closer relations with the missionaries, they fall at once under suspicion and threat. To be converted to Christianity means sentence of death, and even if the authorities do not venture to carry out this law of the Koran openly, there are a hundred ways of putting the convert out of the way, whether by poison or enlistment or otherwise. And the nearer relatives of the apostate would probably say, "Better dead than be a Christian."

These great obstacles have lent weight to the opinion that the time has not yet arrived for Muhammadan missions in the Near East. Now for some missionary societies it is certainly hard to say whether after satisfying the urgent demands of mission work already in full operation in Africa, India, and the Far East, they can find the men and the means to carry on a strenuous mission among the Muhammadans in the Near East. That is a question for Christian charity to decide. Here we would only ask, Is there, as far as we can see, any prospect that the opportunity for mission work among Muhammadans will become more favourable than at present?

Egypt has been since 1882 under the control, one may almost say the rule, of Christian England. But if even so eminent a statesman as Lord Cromer has held it to be his political duty to favour Islam, while ignoring Protestant missions and the ancient Koptic Church, we cannot expect any early favourable change for the better in Egypt. In Turkey religious liberty was legally established by the celebrated firman *hatti humayoun*. But owing to the fanaticism of the lower officials as much as to the ill will of the central authorities, this has hitherto remained little more than a paper privilege. It is to be lamented that the powers whose influence in Turkey is controlling do not exercise greater pressure to enforce the ob-

servance of rights that have been officially granted. In spite of the *hatti humayoun* conversions are most difficult and perilous in Turkey,[1] though conditions are not uniform throughout the empire. Perhaps it is in Palestine that Protestant movements of any kind are watched with the greatest suspicion. On the other hand the province of the Lebanon rejoices, since 1862, in a Christian governor and comparative freedom. In Persia there appears to be the prospect of an early granting of religious liberty beyond even the terms of the late Shah's edict. And even now extensive mission work is possible, in spite of annoying laws and official hindrance.

It is clear, then, that the greatest opposition to missionary effort does not come from the government. It proceeds rather from the deep-rooted popular dislike of Christianity as a religion and of the Christians as individuals, and from the fanatic hatred of converts sanctioned by the Koran. Thus opposition to Christian missions is by superior and inferior officials as well as by the common people considered to be the proper attitude of a faithful Muhammadan. The strictest laws are effective in keeping this fanaticism within bounds only in so far as Europeans are continually on the alert to insist, with force if need be, upon their execution. There can be no hope of a speedy change for the better in this respect. No laws of toleration in India can prevent the all-powerful caste system from making conversion to Christianity among the higher castes a matter of life and death. No man knows how many are secretly murdered rather than that they should become Christians. To overcome such deep-rooted opposition, sanctioned as it is by religion, only a long-continued exhibition of the beauty of the Christian life and of Christian service avails. If in general it be the first duty of missions to win confidence and to overthrow the barriers of prejudice, suspicion, and fanaticism, this is an especially important task in the Near

[1] It is well known that the constitution of July 24, 1908, has officially granted religious liberty in Turkey. Experience alone will show whether this "irade" will be put into practice with greater fairness than the former liberal laws.

East. It is, to be sure, a task of unusual difficulty, but it is now possible of achievement, and the sooner it is seriously attempted, the better.

Mission work among the Muhammadans must for a time differ greatly from that among other peoples. Its policy is conciliatory rather than aggressive. Popular movements in favour of Christianity cannot be expected for a long time to come. It is the part of wisdom to be quiet about such few conversions as occur, and to be reticent in mission reports. In preaching the Gospel, anything that might excite Muhammadan fanaticism is to be avoided, attention rather being drawn to the points of contact between the two religions. There are four kinds of preparatory work which specially recommend themselves: *medical missions* with their clear and winning message of Christian compassion; the distribution of *Christian literature*, including the Bible, which has the express sanction of the Koran, and simple Christian books written preferably in the form of dialogues, so liked by Orientals; *Christian schools*, primary and advanced, which should be opened as soon as they can be filled with Muhammadan children; and *women's work* in the harems, which, with its warm personal sympathy, for the first time lets the light in upon those fastnesses of fanaticism, the Muhammadan homes. All these methods demand patience and quiet, diligent labour. They shun publicity. For such patient work of preparation one is inclined to feel that even free-lance missionaries may be useful, if they be not too fanciful and sectarian in their views, and it is no great misfortune that many of them are seeking in Palestine and Syria, latterly also in Egypt, a sphere of work.

9. The Message of Christianity to Islam[1]

A distinction must be made between the apologetic of theologians in Christian lands, intended to prove the truth of

[1] Cf. "Methods of Mission Work among Moslems," Papers of the Conference of Muhammadan Missionaries held in Cairo April 4th to 9th, 1906. The papers of this valuable book do not cover the entire ground, but they contain a great

Christianity as opposed to Islam to the mind and conscience of Christians, and, on the other hand, the arguments used by missionaries meant to lead Muhammadans to break with their religion and to come to a whole-hearted conviction of the truth of Christianity. The former method is the easier of the two, as it can confine itself to a few chief themes, *e. g.*, how much Islam has derived from Christianity, and the inferiority of the character of Muhammad and the low moral standard inculcated by his example, the formalism of his religious exercises, and the sterility of his conception of God. The task of the missionary is a more difficult and complicated matter, requiring as much patience as wisdom.

It must at the outset be taken into consideration that the various Moslem populations stand on widely separated spiritual and intellectual levels, and have been permeated by the religion of Islam in very varying degree. In many tribes of India and Central Africa, as well as among the Druses, Nusairiyeh and others, Islam is but a veneer, beneath which animistic heathenism or deteriorated forms of Semitic religion have been ever retained. It is a disadvantage for the missionary that these ignorant semi-Muhammadans like to retire behind the cover of their religious leaders, whom they expect to ward off the Christian preachers. Even among cultured Muhammadan nations a more intimate acquaintance with Islamic theology is by no means common, because the Koran may be read only in Arabic

number of important observations. Some few of these we give : In public argument it is advisable not to attack Muhammad or the Koran. In countries where Islam is split up into sects, it is well to take the doctrines peculiar to such sects into consideration, for they sometimes offer excellent opportunities of introducing such fundamental Christian doctrines as the Incarnation, Atonement, etc. In comparing the Bible with the Koran, it must be kept in mind that the Christian and the Islamic views of inspiration differ (Cf. *The Church Miss. Rev.*, 1907, pp. 295, 355, 549). Islamic inspiration is a dead, mechanical, verbal thing, while the Christian theory is that the Bible has been written by holy men of God under the influence of the Holy Spirit, as a record of the dealings of Divine Providence.

and the best products of Islamic thought are to be found only in Arabic books. Thus the missionary on coming to any Muhammadan people has to ascertain carefully to what depth Islamic modes of thought and customs have covered the lower stratum of heathenism, to what extent Islam has penetrated that heathenism.

There are five chief strongholds of Islam, which the missionary must be mindful of. (1) *Inherent conviction of the truth of Islam.* In the lower forms of animistic heathenism the missionary everywhere meets with a feeling of uncertainty, which proves these animistic ideas to be comparatively loosely rooted and consequently ready to yield to a well-timed attack. Islam, on the contrary, exhibits an astounding self-assurance, always culminating in the motto: There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet. Even the evident superiority of the Christian culture does not cause the faithful Muhammadan to waver in this conviction. The Moslem commonly argues that Christians may be superior in worldly matters, but that Moslems have the true religion. (2) *The Monotheistic conception of God.* The fulcrum on which to rest his lever in order to loosen the hold of polytheistic or animistic heathenism, the missionary finds in the protest against the disintegration of the Deity, in setting forth the one only God, Creator, Preserver, and Ruler, who destroys the kingdom of demons and establishes the Kingdom of God. The first step in conversion then is the turning from the worship of many gods, ancestors, or spirits and the subjecting of one's self to the God of the Christian and to His Son. It is not so with the Muhammadan. However great a part spirits play in his thoughts and actions, yet belief in the absolute power of Allah is part and parcel of his existence. (3) *Moslem eschatology.* Islam is everywhere, especially where it is victoriously advancing, strong in eschatology. All the forces of volcanic activity within it—Jehad, Mahdi, Imam—these have an eschatological character. The kernel of the religious consciousness of a Moslem is: The Moslem is partaker of the joys of a sensually imagined paradise, the

non-Moslem goes to hell. And this eschatology has the sanction of a divine revelation. (4) *The Muhammadan ideal of piety.* A heathen believes himself surrounded by countless gods and demons, who claim his devotion and whom he must attempt to satisfy. But he is never sure whether he has succeeded in this. The more religious his nature is, the less satisfied is he under this constant pressure. How much easier is the Moslem's creed. Let him but observe his hours of prayer, give the prescribed alms, and make a pilgrimage to Mecca once in his life, his relations with Allah are then quite in order. His assurance that Allah is satisfied with him is not shaken even though sickness and sudden death overtake him. He is sure of the joys of paradise, though he may, in other respects, be a scoundrel. To get the better of inferior demons he need but put the powers of Allah in action, which he accomplishes by magic. Religious scruples or qualms of conscience do not trouble him. (5) *Mystical communion with God.* The more religious natures find scope in the mysticism of Islam, which they are taught leads unfailingly to communion with Allah, or even to total absorption with the Deity. It is this belief that animates those who participate in religious revivals or political disturbances. It is not advisable to direct the attack against these five strongholds at the outset. No general, when laying siege to a fortress, assaults straightway the strongest point. Such misdirected attacks only provoke bitterness and inflame the fanaticism peculiar to Islam.

The preaching of the missionaries should proceed on the following three lines: (1) *Preparatory teaching.* The doctrines of Islam may be traced to three sources, namely, pre-Muhammadan Arabic heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity. Ideas from all three sources were current in Arabia before the time of Muhammad and had become thoroughly intermingled. In the person of Muhammad and in the religion he founded they were fused into a new unity. It is therefore incorrect to regard Islam either as a rationalistic Christian sect, or as a Jewish sect, or as a Christianized development of Arabian

heathenism.[1] Yet the Christian missionary will find it easy to lay emphasis on the points of contact between Islam and Christianity, thus winning an opportunity for the presentation of his wider message. (*a*) The Koran teaches that the Bible is the revealed Word of God, but that Christians have falsified the text in their own interests. The group of ideas growing out of this teaching, with the errors involved, must engage the close attention of Christian apologists. Skillfully used, they are a forceful appeal to Muhammadans to study the Bible carefully and thoroughly, comparing it with the Koran. If they become convinced that it is not true that the Bible has been tampered with by Christians, and are thus compelled to admit that the Bible is the pure Word of God, the way is open for calm, practical discussion. A commentary on the effectiveness of such preparatory work, as conducted for instance in India, is the curious fact that some years ago a deputation of mollahs from Northern India appeared in the El Azhar mosque of Cairo, to enquire after the pure text of the Bible as opposed to the falsified Christian versions.[2]

(*b*) The Koran contains many of the Bible stories, though with abundant apocryphal excrescences. It is of great importance to compare these Muhammadan legends with the original stories, and to point to their unreasonable and unreliable character, thus undermining confidence in the infallibility and authority of the Koran. This is by no means easy or pleasant work. Tact and conscientiousness are needed, if, in addition

[1] Abraham Geiger (in his "Judentum und Islam") as well as the rabbinist Em. Deutsch (Literarischer Nachlass, article on Islam) show with great cleverness and erudition, how much Muhammad was influenced in his theories and practice by Talmudic Judaism. The verdict of both these scholars is that Islam is nothing else than a form of Judaism modified to suit Arab requirements, plus a recognition of the prophethood of Jesus and Muhammad. Dr. Joh. Lepsius, on the other hand, maintained in his lecture before the conference of Muhammadan missionaries at Cairo, that Islam is a degenerate form of rationalized Oriental Christianity.

[2] This appeal to the Bible naturally occupies a large place in controversial literature. To refute with convincing power the charge that Christians have falsified the Bible for doctrinal purposes is the chief aim of the interesting book "Sweet Firstfruits," widely known even in England and America through the excellent translation of Sir Wm. Muir.

to pulling down the walls of error, the establishing of the authority of the Bible is to be achieved. But it is very effectual in the case of truth-seeking Moslems.

(*c*) The Koran raises Jesus so nearly to the level of Muhammad, giving Him indeed in certain respects a much higher standing, that it is well worth while thoroughly to exploit such passages in the Koran as contain comparisons between Muhammad and Christ. In this connection, the foolish statements of the Koran concerning the death and resurrection of the Lord may be exposed, and the eminently superior moral character of Jesus be urged on the conscience, His holiness as compared with the immorality of Muhammad. Such preparatory work naturally demands of the missionary a careful examination of facts and calm judgment. It is therefore in the main a method less suitable for public preaching, being more effectual when used in apologetic literature. It is, perhaps, superfluous to urge that missionaries and colporteurs should be well versed in the contents of the books they distribute, and should ever be prepared to elucidate and enlarge upon the subjects discussed in such books. Muhammadans have an almost diseased predilection for religious discussions, which wise missionaries will endeavour to lead by some means or other to bear upon such subjects as those mentioned above.

(2) *The preaching of the central doctrine of salvation.* Whatever may be its advantages, yet it is a weary way that leads from the Koran through the Bible to Christ, and it will be trodden only by the more educated. The decisive question for Moslems as for other non-Christians is whether they lay hold on the salvation in Christ. If they are to do so, this salvation must be presented to them in such a way as to satisfy and convince them. But apart from the prohibition of public preaching in some Muhammadan countries, great difficulties confront the missionaries. Even in the simplest presentation of the atoning work of Christ, His divinity must be insisted on, nor can those religious truths which underlie the doctrine of the Holy Trinity be passed by in silence. Yet these two doctrines, namely, the Divinity of Christ and the

Trinity, are the very doctrines which have ever been the great stumbling-blocks for Moslems, and which excite in them the most violent opposition. To us they are the heart of Christianity. And our chief object must be to lead Moslems to a full belief in Jesus as the crucified Son of God. Here no compromise is possible. The most effectual method of procedure is to make known in as full a measure as possible the Bible narratives, by their help leading one's hearers to feel a personal interest in the fulfilment of the gracious purposes of God in sending His Son to redeem the world. The preaching of the Gospel will be the more effective if it can be illustrated by pictures in the daytime and by the magic lantern at night. Starting with the knowledge of what God has done to save the world the Moslem will come to a conviction of his own sinfulness. The reverse process is rarely possible, for a Moslem's inherited faith, according to which he is content with a purely formal fulfilment of its comparatively easy requirements, renders a direct appeal to his conscience very difficult. If Allah does not demand of him more than it has been his custom to perform, why should he trouble himself further? Only the inexorable logic of the Gospel can shatter such thoroughgoing self-satisfaction. At the same time the missionary among Muhammadans must ever bear in mind the fact that these central truths of Christianity may readily excite the fanaticism of his hearers and cause them to close their ears to his message. Yet however difficult such direct preaching may be, the missionary will never, absorbed in the slow preparatory work, lose sight of the fact that the definite act of conversion can be brought about only by laying hold on Christ.

In this difficulty we have at least a partial explanation of the fact that mission work among Muhammadans has thus far resulted only in individual conversions, not in general movements. Muhammadans cannot be led to embrace Christianity by a preaching of the first article of the creed, since they already believe in one God. Contrast this state of affairs with that which exists among many heathen peoples concern-

ing whom Johannes Warneck, in his book "The Living Christ and the Dying Heathenism," shows convincingly that, when congregations are gathered from their midst, the first step consists in turning from the worship of false gods and demons to the worship of the one God, while comparatively few advance to a complete acceptance of the redeeming work of Christ. Muhammadans, on the contrary, can be brought into the Christian Church only by persuading them of the truth of Redemption through the Son of God, an undertaking the extreme difficulty of which we have pointed out. No wonder, then, that few Moslems find the way to the Christian Church. Muhammadan work is like that among the Jews, who also already believe in one God.

(3) *Subsequent preaching.* When ignorant heathen accept Christianity they have passed from under the dominion of demons into the Kingdom of God. They feel that they are thereby bound to conform to the rules of conduct in this Kingdom. They display great willingness to cast out the leaven of heathenism and permit the leaven of Christianity to work through their thoughts and actions. Islam, on the contrary, is too stereotyped and thorough a system of thought and conduct to admit of an easy advance in "putting off the old man."

A Moslem who has embraced Christianity must recast all his ideas of God in conformity with his new Christian knowledge. He must replace his former arbitrary, despotic God by one of ethical excellence. Almost more difficult is it for him to free himself from that fatalism, which, in Islam, is a correlative of belief in the almighty power of God, and to feel himself to be in the Christian relation of a child to the Father, who orders the whole life of His children according to His wise counsel, but who at the same time wills that we should work out our salvation with fear and trembling.

Side by side with this revolution in his ideas is the necessary *adaptation of his life to the Christian ideal* in Christ. This is the more difficult since, roughly speaking, what occupies a central position in the ethics of the Christian lies on the

periphery of the moral instincts of the Muhammadan, and vice versa. Muhammadanism lays chief stress on individual commands, Christianity on a right condition of the heart. The prime virtue of Islam is obedience, submission to the incomprehensible laws of God, while the Christian gives love the first place, love which delights to do the will of God (Rom. 8 : 15). The Christian ideal takes possession of one after another of the ethical wastes in the Muhammadan life, doing away with polygamy and slavery, and laying a foundation for the elevation of woman.

It is only in the bright light of Christian ethics that the sensual eschatology of Islam with its hitherto intoxicating power fades away, giving place to the pure flame of the Christian hope, founded on faith and love towards Christ.

It is not to be expected that the conversion of every Muhammadan will proceed in this same manner, for the workings of the spiritual life are very complex. Particularly applicable to conversions are the words of the Lord : "The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the voice thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth" (John 3 : 8). Still, experience indicates the lines along which to conduct missionary preaching, and, in proportion as Moslem fanaticism is known to be easily aroused, it is important to heed such indications.

II

THE BEGINNINGS OF PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ENDEAVOUR

IT was still in the period of the German Reformation that Freiherr Hans Ungnad von Sonegg, a Protestant who had been a captain in the Austrian army in Hungary and in Steiermark in the wars against the Ottomans, began his indefatigable labours. In his old age (1540–1560) after he had left his home for his faith's sake, he spent his entire fortune on the translation of Protestant literature, 25,600 books in four years into the languages of the Balkans, "hoping that by this means the pure teaching of God's Word might be introduced into Turkey and that the All-merciful would in this way smite the Turks with the sword of His almighty power as He had exposed and smitten popery by the hand of Martin Luther of blessed memory" (*Christl. Orient*, 1897, p. 3 ff.). Many German princes and free cities contributed considerable sums to this in its own way great literary mission enterprise.

On the threshold of the history of Protestant Missions in the Near East there stands an interesting figure, the Patriarch of Constantinople, *Cyril Lucaris* (1572–1638). Born in Crete and educated in good schools in Venice and Padua, Lucaris was raised to the chair of the Orthodox Greek patriarchate of Alexandria in 1603. It was here he seems first to have come into touch with Protestantism. He describes the circumstances thus in a letter:

Ubi vero Deo placuit misericordi nos illuminare ut animadverteremus quo in errore versabamur, mature cogitare incepimus, quid opus esset facere. Quid ergo feci? Libris aliquot evangelicorum doctorum quos Oriens noster non quod nunquam viderit, sed neque utrum essent, obstantibus pontificiis censuris, nunquam audiverit, opera et favore amicorum acquisitis,

spiritu sancto assiduis orationibus invocato, per triennium græcæ et latinæ ecclesiæ cum ea, quæ est reformata collavi (sic!).

He had, we see, derived his acquaintance with Protestant teaching chiefly from the writings of the Reformed theologians which he had diligently studied for three years. He came thus to see to what extent his Church had been corrupted by superstition. He says: "Ecclesiam græcam nil tam pessundat, ut superstitio." Nevertheless he was all that time still far from planning to introduce reforms, thinking these practicable only, "magno cum scandalo totius christianitatis." A change came when he was raised in 1620 to the patriarchal chair of Constantinople, by far the most important and influential position in his Church. He now came into personal connection with Cornelius Hego, the Protestant Dutch ambassador in Stamboul, and with Rev. Anton Leger, chaplain of the Dutch legation there from 1628 to 1636. Leger exercised a great influence upon Lucaris, who, in consequence, formed the large plan of reforming his Church thoroughly after the pattern of Calvinism. His first care was to have the Bible translated into vulgar Greek. This was undertaken by Maximus Calliupolita, aided by Lucaris, who also wrote a preface. The book was printed in Geneva, but it was only in 1638, after the death of Lucaris, that this first modern Greek edition appeared. Schools were also built, but they do not appear to have been continued for any length of time. The most important act of Lucaris was the publishing of his "Confessio" in 1629. Within a few years it went through nineteen editions and was translated into most of the languages of civilized Europe. His confession is, according to Gass, founded on Calvinistic doctrine, but drawn up in such a manner as to accommodate it as nearly as possible to the form of expression and the creed of the Greek Church. Hardly had Lucaris come out publicly with his Evangelical convictions, when persecution set in from all quarters. The Jesuits were his bitter enemies, and even after his death they slandered him in their writings. Even in his own Church he met with sharp

opposition. And it was by an intrigue of his opponents that he came to his death. They accused him to the Sultan Murad, on the eve of his entering upon a campaign against the Persians, of stirring up the Cossacks against him. Believing this false accusation, the Sultan at once ordered Lucaris to be strangled by the Janissaries and his body to be thrown into the sea.

Lucaris was the most impressive personality in the Orthodox Greek Church of the seventeenth century. For decades after his death the movement which he originated occupied and divided the minds of men in his Church. It was the first and only attempt of one in a leading position to reform the Greek Church from within, in the Protestant sense of the word. False accusation and assassination put an end to it. Who can say whether Lucaris was made of the stuff to be the reformer of his Church, or whether this attempt to reform that Church after the pattern of the Calvinism of Geneva and Holland would in any case have been unsuccessful?

1. Peter Heyling

A younger contemporary of Cyril Lucaris was Peter Heyling, a learned man from Lübeck in Germany. While studying in Paris he formed a close friendship and alliance with several other Germans, who resolved to take the Gospel to the dead Churches of the East. Two of these friends went thither; one, Blumenhagen by name, soon died a violent death in Constantinople; the other, Dorne, after a journey of several years' duration through Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, returned disheartened to Germany. Peter Heyling went to Egypt in 1632 to try to get thence to Abyssinia. He spent several years in the monasteries of the Egyptian desert with the purpose of learning the Arabic and Syriac languages thoroughly, throughout that time being often bitterly persecuted by the emissaries of the Roman Propaganda, who did not wish to permit this pronounced Lutheran to obtain any influence. In 1634 he found an opportunity to go to Abyssinia. Negus Basilides, who had expelled the Roman Arch-

bishop and all the Jesuits, sent an embassy to Cairo requesting of the Koptic Patriarch that a Monophysitic Abuna be once more appointed, thus restoring the old connection with the Koptic Church. Heyling joined this embassy on their journey home. He was kindly received at the Court at Gondar. Many sons of noblemen were put under his charge to be educated. The Negus is said to have given him his own daughter to wife, and to have entrusted him with several high offices of state. It is also reported that he translated parts of the New Testament, including St. John's Gospel, into Amharic, and compiled a code of laws based on the Roman code. But none of these reports can be traced to its sources. About 1652 Heyling, on his way back to Egypt, is said to have been forced by a Turkish pasha to choose between Islam and death, and to have died courageously confessing his faith. Whether he was successful as a missionary in Abyssinia, it is difficult to say. What is certain is that he had no successor.[1]

A century passed by before any active interest in the Oriental Churches was again shown by Protestants, although Augustus Hermann Francke, incited thereto by the learned orientalist Ludolf, Jr., sent several young candidates for the ministry to Russia and Constantinople to try to elevate the Greek Church spiritually. After the year 1739, the *Moravian Church*, in its first consuming zeal for missions, tried to gain a footing in the Christian Orient. But all these attempts failed, whether in Constantinople (1740), where they tried to come into touch with the Greek authorities, in the newly accessible colonies of Roumania (also 1740), or in Persia (1747–1750). Nor could they find entrance into Abyssinia. In Egypt the able physician, Rudolph Wilhelm Hocker succeeded, after various vain attempts, in introducing a Moravian Mission, which, however, was confined from the very begin-

[1] Hiob Ludolf, Ad suam historiam æthiopicam Commentarius. Frankfurt, 1691, with Appendix. Dr. Joh. Michaelis, Sonderbarer Lebenslauf Herrn Peter Heylings, Halle, 1724. Founded on these two books, *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, 1876, pp, 206–223.

ning to evangelization among the Kopts, where, on principle, no attempt was made to induce converts to leave their Church. Hocker and his assistants, most of whom were plain workmen, laboured for fifteen years (1768–1783) in Cairo and Behnesseh. But as no definite results appeared, and as the disturbed state of the country rendered it unsafe for the Brethren to remain there, they were recalled in 1783. Nor did their work apparently leave any marked traces.

2. Henry Martyn

An eminent young English missionary, Henry Martyn, appeared like a brilliant comet in Persia; but only for a short time, for he was too quickly consumed by the very fire of his zeal. Born in 1780, he died in 1812 in Tokat in Asia Minor. This young man by the intensity of his spiritual ardour made so deep an impression on his fellow workers and upon missionary circles in England in spite of the brevity of his career, that he, like the missionary Bishop, Reginald Heber, in India, who was also still a young man when he died, might be compared in this respect with Francis Xavier. Sent as a chaplain to India in 1806, he laboured until 1811 in the cantonments of Dinajpur and Cawnpore, ever in close connection with his friends Brown, Corrie and Buchanan, who, like himself, were nicknamed the "pious chaplains." In addition to his official duties, he strove unremittingly to bring the Gospel to Hindu and Muhammadan. Indefatigable as he was, and aided by an unusual proficiency in acquiring new languages, Martyn translated the whole of the New Testament into Urdu and Persian. But he was so deeply aware of the imperfection of the latter work that he earnestly desired to go to Persia, in order to improve his knowledge of that language on the ground. He therefore went in 1811 to Shiraz, the celebrated seat of Persian learning. The intense heat of India had already thoroughly exhausted him, and on the five months' voyage from Calcutta to Bushir he suffered terribly from sea-sickness. Arrived in Persia, he soon discovered that his first translation was almost worthless. In eight months, with

failing health, he completed a new translation—a heroic feat, in spite of the evident traces it bears of haste. In his rare hours of leisure he cultivated friendly intercourse with learned Persian theologians, the mollahs and mujtahids of Shiraz, arguing half the night with them about the fundamental truths of Christianity and the trustworthiness of the Bible. Having finished his translation, he had a copy of it made and then set out for Tabriz to present his work in person to the Shah. But his delicate constitution was no longer able to bear the hardships of travel in Persia. He arrived in Tabriz more dead than alive, and needed the most careful nursing for two months before he was able to continue his journey towards Constantinople. The harsh treatment of his Turkish attendants, and the fatigues of mountain travel over the snow-clad passes of wild Kurdistan, were the last straw. He died in Tokat on the 16th of October, 1812. The British Ambassador in Teheran presented, in Martyn's stead, his manuscript translation of the New Testament to the Shah, whom he induced to issue so laudatory a notice of the work, that the translation, after it had been printed in Russia, found a widespread circulation in Persia.

3. The "Mediterranean Mission" of the Church Missionary Society

Soon after its institution the Church Missionary Society had its attention drawn to the Christian Churches of the Levant. Malta, since 1800 a British possession, seemed to be the most suitable place in which to establish a mission, from which to spread the knowledge of the Gospel over all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, especially among the Oriental Churches on the one hand, and among Islamic nations on the other. The hope was entertained that a spiritual revival in the ancient Churches would exercise a beneficial influence on the Islamic world surrounding them, thus preparing the way for direct mission work among Muhammadans. There was no thought of founding Protestant Churches, the missionaries being particularly ad-

monished to respect the customs and views obtaining in the Oriental Churches. On their appointment they were instructed to cultivate a spirit of moderation, tenderness and caution. "Study"—so runs a striking passage in their instructions—"for it is particularly applicable to the circumstances of an enlightened and devout Christian labouring in the midst of a benighted and corrupted Oriental Church, study that spirit of moderation, delicacy and caution, which was exhibited by the Apostles towards their countrymen the Jews, and towards their converts from among the Gentiles. Although they acted, and spoke, and wrote under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and foreknew certainly the approaching dissolution of the Jewish Polity, yet, in ritual observances, such as Circumcision, Washings, the Change of the Sabbath, Fasts, Attendance at the Temple and in the Synagogues, and, generally, in all the discipline of the old covenant which was waxing old and ready to vanish away, they were temperate, comfortable, conciliatory, and large-hearted. . . . Whenever a member of a church which holds the main truths of the Gospel, though with a great mixture of error, discerns that error, he is perhaps disposed to break away from its Communion. It requires much wisdom, candour, and fidelity, to guide the conscience aright in such cases."

So, in 1815, Malta was made the centre of the "Mediterranean Mission." A printing-press was set up, and for years a flood of larger and smaller publications was poured forth. Among these were editions of the Bible in the ancient languages of the Oriental Churches, and also in the modern tongues; *e. g.*, a New Testament in Modern Greek, prepared by an abbot in Constantinople, called Hilarion; Arabic translations of the New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer by Rev. C. F. Schlienz; and the Book of Common Prayer in Turkish and Amharic, by the same author. Although the Pope in 1817 issued a bull forbidding the reading of these translations, and the Sultan, probably under the influence of Roman intrigue, prohibited the introduction of

Christian books into Turkey, yet these publications were largely bought in the countries bordering the Mediterranean. In 1819 Constantinople was occupied as a second mission centre, but was abandoned again in 1821 in consequence of an outbreak of fanaticism among the Turks, caused by the Greek War of Independence. Another station was established in 1828 on the island of Syra, where Rev. F. A. Hildner, coming from the seminary in Basle, founded a secondary school, the so-called Pedagogium, of which he was principal for forty-five years, until 1876. In 1830 Rev. J. Zeller and Rev. P. Fjellstedt were stationed in Smyrna, the centre of Greek culture in Asia Minor. Thence they travelled through Asia Minor and the neighbouring countries, preaching everywhere, distributing Christian literature and founding schools, which, however, dwindled away under the opposition of both Greeks and Jews. In Egypt Rev. J. R. T. Lieder and Rev. W. Kruse had begun somewhat earlier, in 1825, to work among the Kopts, meeting with no opposition from the Koptic Patriarch Butros (Peter) VII (1809–1854). They were permitted to distribute Protestant literature, and to preach in Koptic churches and even in the monasteries. Lieder founded a training-school for boys in Cairo, which gradually developed under his care into a theological institution for training priests for the Koptic Church. His college, however, could not be maintained because the Koptic bishops refused to ordain candidates from a Protestant school, although they were otherwise not very particular with regard to the character of candidates for the priesthood; yet one of Lieder's pupils became Abuna of the Abyssinian Church. Lieder and Kruse laboured in Egypt unwearyingly for thirty-five years, in face of many disappointments. Their work laid the foundation of the mission in Abyssinia.

Although the "Mediterranean Mission" was founded by English missionaries, of whom Rev. Wm. Fowett, who eventually became its superintendent, may be specially mentioned, its agents were almost all of them Germans, trained in the mission college at Basle. Such were Rev. C.

F. Schlienz in Malta, Rev. J. R. T. Lieder in Cairo, Rev. J. A. Jetter in Smyrna and the pioneers of the work in Abyssinia. The number of agents employed by the Church Missionary Society in this mission was always small, and these few were either left to die at their lonely posts, like Hildner in Syra and Lieder in Cairo, or they were transplanted sooner or later to other missions. About the year 1850 it became apparent to the Church Missionary Society that the hopes set on the Mediterranean Mission had not been fulfilled, that in fact it was almost impossible by means of that mission to introduce new life into the Oriental Churches or to bring the Gospel to the Muhammadans of Turkey. The mission was therefore discontinued in its original form.

4. The Basle Mission in Transcaucasia, 1822–1835

The Basle Mission, founded in 1816, was, in the first years of its existence, content to supply men for other societies, English and Dutch. But, in 1820, feeling at length a measure of strength, it began to contemplate a mission of its own.

Many pious Suabian families had emigrated, in 1819, to Russian Transcaucasia, and had founded German settlements in Tiflis and its neighbourhood. They requested the Basle Committee to send them some of their young missionaries to minister to them spiritually. The active mind of the leading secretary in Basle, Rev. T. Blumhardt, recognized in this application a brilliant prospect for an extended mission. From these German colonies as centres he hoped not only to infuse new life into the moribund Oriental Churches, but also to press on to the Muhammadans living in adjacent countries. His expressive face used to light up as he expounded his idea that it would be possible to reach Persia, Russian Transcaucasia, nay, all the countries round the Mediterranean, within a few days, starting from any harbour of the Black Sea. Egypt, Abyssinia and the North Coast of Africa were not too far away but that they might be easily and safely reached and, if necessary, as easily escaped from (Eppler, "Geschichte der Basler Mission," p. 28. W. Hoffmann, "Elf Jahre," pp. 30 ff.).

The energetic support of the Russian government was also confidently relied on, since the pious Emperor Alexander I was at that time Czar. It was under his influence that the Russian Bible Society had been founded in 1813. This Society joined its forces with those of the British and Foreign Bible Society to reprint and distribute the then rare Ancient Armenian Bible. By 1815, 5,000 complete Bibles and 2,000 New Testaments (followed, in 1817, by 2,000 more) were sent to Russian Armenia and were speedily disposed of. It must be confessed, however, that they were bought only by the educated classes and higher clergy, who alone understood ancient Armenian.

The Basle Mission was begun with the permission of the Russian government, though under certain restrictions. Pastors were allowed in the German settlements, but non-Christians should be baptized only on condition that they settled in the German colonies. There were four tasks that the Basle Committee placed before the first missionaries in 1821: (1) to distribute the Word of God in every language and dialect of those peoples; (2) to acquire a knowledge of the chief languages commonly spoken by them; (3) to found a college for Persians and Tartars, as an advanced school for pupils of the elementary national schools; (4) to set up a printing-press for the translation of the Bible and of Protestant literature.

A Scottish missionary society had, in 1802, begun to work in these southeasterly parts of Russia, especially from two centres, the Tartar village of Karass, on the northern slope of the Caucasus, and Astrachan, the capital, lying on the Caspian Sea. But as the results proved unsatisfactory they determined to make Astrachan the sole centre, and to direct their efforts mainly to the distribution of the Bible and of Protestant literature. They were therefore glad that the Basle Mission was ready to take up their work at Karass. This mission thus secured a firm footing for its work.

The Suabian colonists in Russian Transcaucasia welcomed the Basle Brethren with joy, and placed themselves under their spiritual care. Rev. A. H. Dittrich drew up for them a prac-

tical form of church organization and other Brethren became their ministers. But soon Shusha, a town in the mountain district of Karabagh, situated on a height surrounded by deep valleys, became the chief centre of the Basle Mission. Here they began an Armenian and Russian school, and set up their printing-press. On their preaching tours they passed through the districts on both sides of the Caucasus, penetrating also far into Persia and Mesopotamia. Rev. Johann Jacob Lang, untiring as he was in his labours among the German colonists, still found time to go from one Tartar camp to another, bringing the Gospel to the heathen. Shusha offered many opportunities for work among the Armenians, and the Basle missionaries believed they could minister to them with greater freedom and success, not by founding a separate Protestant Church but by arousing the old Churches themselves to new spiritual life. Especially in Shemacha and Baku, two towns which they regarded as substations of Shusha and often visited, they gained among the Armenians faithful friends. There also they came into frequent, and often friendly, touch with the Muhammadans. Felician Zaremba, one of the missionaries, had a peculiar gift of appealing to their hearts in a simple and hearty way. Felician Zaremba,[1] a young count descended from an old Polish noble family, a branch of which had gone over to the Protestant Church in 1635, had, in 1817, at the age of twenty-three, under the impulse of very strong religious feelings, turned his back on brilliant prospects of honour and riches by a secret flight across the boundary. In the following year he entered the college of the Basle Mission. The committee saw in him a personality specially fitted to put their Caucasus Mission on a firm footing. By his complete command of the Russian language and thorough knowledge of Russian state affairs he was marked as the man to conduct the many complicated negotiations with the Russian authorities. His burning zeal to lead souls to the Saviour, combined with the ease with which he approached Armenians and Muhammadans, made him an ex-

[1] "Ein russischer Edelmann als Missionar," 3d ed., Basle, 1900.

cellent missionary. Though he may not have been the most talented among the German missionaries in the Caucasus, he was certainly the most prominent personality, and, during the thirteen years of the existence of the mission, its history is in the main the history of his life.

Karl Gottlieb Pfander, a clever linguist with a thorough theological education, was sent out in 1825, and proved a master in the difficult task of theological argument with Muhammadans. He fearlessly travelled through the north-west of Persia and the countries bordering on the Euphrates, as far as Bagdad, winning souls for Christ by his clear dialectic and his warm heart. His chief apologetic work, "The Balance of Truth" (Mizan ul Haqq), is founded on his experiences as an itinerant missionary in those days. It is one of the best Protestant polemical works directed against Islam, it is still published and much read in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Hindustani and English, and is almost indispensable to every missionary among Muhammadans.[1]

Pfander is an interesting figure among the Muhammadan missionaries of the nineteenth century. Born on the 3d of November, 1803, in Waiblingen, the son of pious and well-to-do parents—his father was a baker—he was early won for mission work, and entered the college of the Basle Mission in 1820. In 1825 he was appointed to the Basle Mission in Transcaucasia, with special instructions to devote himself to the Muhammadans; and that constituted his life's work for forty years, until his death on the 1st of December, 1865. He laboured in three fields consecutively; during the first twelve years, 1825–1837, in the service of the Basle Mission in Transcaucasia; then, with some intervals, for fourteen years in Northern India, in Agra and Peshawar; and finally, for seven years, 1858 to 1865, in Constantinople. In this volume we come across him in the first and last of these periods. His years in India were no doubt the zenith of his life. It was then that he displayed the greatest power. His famous controversy

[1] "Chr. Friedr. Eppler," "Dr. Karl Gottlieb Pfander, ein Zeuge der Wahrheit." Basle, 1888.

with his well-informed opponent Rahmat Allah, in Agra, in the Easter week of 1854, was a notable event in the North India Mission. Two of the witnesses of that controversy, the Muhammadans Safdar Ali and Imaduddin, became later bold defenders of the Christian faith.

Pfander is especially celebrated for his striking apologetic book, "The Balance of Truth" (Mizan ul Haqq, English Edition by the Rev. R. H. Weakley, London, 1867). Starting from the deeply rooted and general desire for salvation which can be satisfied only by a revealed religion, Pfander goes on to show that for Muhammadans and Christians there are only three books of revealed religion, the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Koran. Then he proves in three chapters: (1) that the Bible supplies a fully satisfying revelation, (2) that this revelation ought to be known to and appropriated by every Moslem and (3) that, on the other hand, neither was Muhammad a man qualified to give a revelation, nor is the Koran in itself satisfactory. Pfander rightly lays chief stress on the second point, the systematic exposition of salvation through Christ. He does this very positively, but at the same time in a manner that appeals to the thoughts and feelings of Muhammadans. In the first part he disposes of the foolish prejudices of Moslems against the Bible, above all of the utter unreasonableness of the talk about the corruption of the text of the Bible, a means of attack which, devised by Muhammad himself, has been reiterated again and again by Muhammadan controversialists to cover the fact that the Bible opposes the prophetic claims of Muhammad. Very wisely he postpones his severe polemic against Muhammad and the Koran to the third chapter so that it follows his exposition of the Christian doctrine of Salvation. He does not mince his words, but gives a very clear and strong statement of the shortcomings of the Prophet.

The varied work of the Basle Brethren was not without results in many ways. The Muhammadans gained were few, but they were men of worth. One of them was Mirza Faruch, a child of Christian parents, who had been kidnapped by the

Persians and had been for seventeen years brought up as a Moslem. He became the faithful companion of the missionaries on their preaching tours. Another convert was Alexander Kasim Beg, a learned professor in Kasan. Among the Armenians, also, the mission had faithful friends, such as the two deacons Moses and Parsegh in Shusha, the teacher Arakel in Shemacha, the merchant Hakob, father of Hakob Abuhayatian, the martyr of Urfa in 1895, and others. But a destructive blight was to fall upon this promising work. The higher clergy in the patriarchate of Echmiadzin determined to oppose this active Protestant movement. They refused to give their sanction to the translation of the Bible in the modern Armenian tongue, a translation which Dittrich had prepared with such pains. They sent a memorial to the Russian Court, complaining of the unwarrantable interference of the Basle missionaries in the concerns of the Armenian Church. The governor-general, von Rosen, who was an enemy of Protestant missions, kindled the flame of hostility against the Basle Brethren, by describing them as secret allies of the English and enemies to Russian influence. Nicholas I therefore issued a ukase on the 5th of July (23d of August), 1835, which put a sudden end to the Basle Mission. The ukase forbade any kind of work within the Armenian Church, or among Muhammadans. Within the Russian dominions, the Russian State Church alone was to be authorized to work among other Christian Churches and among Muhammadans.

For a time the hope was entertained in Basle that they might be able to continue the Caucasus Mission in spite of this crushing blow. Nothing more might be necessary than to transfer the centre of their activity to the Turkish territory lying close at hand, in order to carry on the work among the Armenians undisturbed. But would not the Armenian clergy there be just as hostile to their work as on Russian territory? And would they not by such a move be encroaching on the work of the American Board in those parts? In the opinion of Gottlieb Pfander, Persia ought to be made the centre of the mission's activity. It was, indeed, clear that the time had

not yet arrived for a direct and open preaching of the Gospel there, yet he hoped to be able to found schools for secular education. The Basle Committee, however, would not agree to undertake such purely preparatory work.

So the Caucasus Mission was dissolved. Those of the brethren who did not remain as pastors of the German settlements entered the service of English societies, chiefly the Church Missionary Society, in Asia Minor or India.

There came an unexpected after-effect of the Basle Mission in the Caucasus. In Shemacha, in 1842, the Armenians who had been awakened under the ministry of the Basle Brethren formed, under the leadership of the teacher Arakel and an Armenian named Sarki Hambarzumoff, a small Protestant community within the Armenian Church. Being excommunicated in 1861 with fearful anathemas, they obtained permission in 1866, after suffering much persecution, to attach themselves to the recognized Protestant-Lutheran Church of Russia. In union with that Church they exist to this day, exercising no influence on the Armenian Church (Eppler, "Geschichte der Gründung der armenisch-evangelischen Gemeinde in Schamachi," Basle, 1873).

III

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN TURKEY AND ARMENIA

WE divide European Turkey into four parts: Albania, Macedonia, Thrace, and Bulgaria, though the Principality of Bulgaria is in process of becoming independent. The population of *Albania* is mainly Albanian, though there is an intermingling of Servians and Turks in the northeast, and of Greeks in Epirus to the south. Of the million of inhabitants, the Roman Church claims 131,400, at least 333,000 belong to the Orthodox Church, and about 100,00 are Bulgarians; the rest of the population is Muhammadan, save for the modest number claimed by the Protestant Mission. *Macedonia*, including the vilayets of Salonica, Monastir and Kossovo, is inhabited mainly by Greeks in the south and along the coast, and by Bulgarians in the interior, the number of the population being about 2,750,000. Salonica, the chief town, is a busy centre of Protestant missions, which have also secured a footing in the vilayet of Monastir-Bitolia. *Thrace*, in which lies the capital, and which consists of the vilayets of Constantinople and Adrianople, has a population of 2,000,000, Constantinople alone claiming more than half a million. In Thrace a majority are Turks. The Christians belong mainly to the Greek Orthodox Church.

In *Bulgaria* there are about 3,732,200 inhabitants, of whom 643,258 are Muhammadans. In the statistical tables of 1893, 2,606,786 are given as Greek or Bulgarian Catholics, 22,617 as Roman Catholics, 2,384 as Protestants and 6,643 as Armenian Christians. This makes a total of about 2,640,000 Christians. It is computed that the population of European Turkey, without Bulgaria, numbers rather less than 5,891,000, of whom 3,000,000 are Muhammadans and 2,660,000 Christians.

Of the latter, 2,250,000 are Greek Orthodox and 320,000 Roman Catholics.

We divide Turkey in Asia into the five large groups of Asia Minor, Armenia with Kurdistan, Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia.[1]

The following is a statistical table of the population:

	Population.
Asia Minor	9,500,000
Armenia and Kurdistan (vilayets Mamuret el Aziz, Erzerum, Van, Bitlis and Diarbekr)	2,500,000
Syria (vilayets Beirut and Syria, mutessarifliks, Lebanon and Jerusalem and the Janak Haleb)	2,500,000
Mesopotamia (vilayets Mosul, Bagdad and Basra and the districts of Urfa and Sor)	1,200,000
Arabia (vilayets Hijas, Asir, Hodeida, Sana and Tais and the Nejd)	1,200,000
Total population of Turkey in Asia	16,900,000

We have to deal at present only with the first two divisions, —Asia Minor, and Armenia with Kurdistan. We take them up together, since they are indissolubly connected in their mission history. Muhammadans preponderate in both provinces. Orthodox Greeks inhabit the western and northern coasts of Asia Minor, where there are more than a million of them. In the towns of these districts there are scattered colonies of Armenians, especially numerous in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, one of the most noted churches to which Armenians make pilgrimage, as well as the best Armenian training-school, being situated in Armash near Nicomedia. In the vilayets of Armenia and Kurdistan the Armenians dwell in fairly compact masses. According to a very superficial estimate there are altogether 10,000,000 Muhammadans and 2,500,000 Christians in these lands.

[1] Of the eighteen vilayets and two mutessarifliks which constitute Asia Minor, we find in the *Christl. Orient* a passably correct statistical statement, following Cuinet, "La Turquie d' Asie," Paris, 1892–1894. According to it the population of Asia Minor is 14,857,118, of whom 11,801,485 are Muhammadans and 2,760,-864 Christians; of the latter 1,475,011 are Armenians. The Armenians form, therefore, the greater part of the Christian population of Asia Minor.

1. *The Mission of the American Board Until the Rupture with the Ancient Church, 1830–1846*

As in so many other fields the British and Foreign Bible Society was the first organization to begin Protestant missionary work in Turkey. Just as, with the coöperation of the Russian Bible Society, it had laboured in Russian Armenia, so here in Turkish Armenia it distributed Bibles and portions of the Bible in Ancient Armenian at very reduced prices, drawing part of its supply from St. Petersburg, and making use also of the version prepared by the Roman Mechitarists in San Lazaro near Venice. Soon perceiving, however, that these versions were not easily understood by the people, the British and Foreign Bible Society, in conjunction with the Russian Bible Society, prepared in 1822 a new Armenian-Turkish translation of the New Testament and in 1823 another in the vulgar Armenian tongue (Ashharapar). As the Armenian Church authorities did not wish a Bible to be read by the common people, they refused to give their sanction to these versions, and the British colporteurs had to dispose of their costly wares as well as they could in face of opposition from the Armenian clergy.

In 1828 the mission of the American Board[1] in Syria, founded by the Congregational Church of the United States, was temporarily interrupted by the Greek War of Independence, and the missionaries had to retire to Malta (cf. Chap. VI, A, 1). Two of them, Dr. Eli Smith and Dr. O. Dwight, were commissioned by their committee to undertake a journey of exploration and research throughout Asia Minor, Armenia and Northwestern Persia. After having been nearly sixteen months on the way, they gave the report of their experiences in an important book entitled: "Christian Researches in Armenia." This book, which went through several editions,

[1] Cf. Rufus Anderson, "History of the A. B. C. F. M., Oriental Churches," 2 Vols. For the period 1831–1846 Pfeifer, "Die Armenier in der Türkei," Berlin, 1863, copied in *Christl. Orient*, 1897, pp. 27, 78, 120. "Forty years in the Turkish Empire. Memoirs of Rev. Wm. Goodell, D. D.," by Ed. G. Prime, D. D., 8th ed., Boston, 1891.

drew the attention of American friends of mission work to the peoples of the Near East, and the American Board resolved to begin work at once among the Armenians.

A way was opened for them in a surprising manner in the large and influential Armenian colony in Constantinople. Certain merchants and bankers of high social position, knowing that knowledge is power, had come to the conviction that the superiority of European nations was based, to a great extent, on their advanced culture. They were therefore looking around for men to bring them that Western culture, and became convinced that good schools were the best channel for this life-giving stream. At the head of this enlightened party was the educator, Peshtimaljan, who has been called the Erasmus of Armenia. He was a careful and critical student of the Armenian language and literature, and was well versed in the history and theology of the Oriental and Roman Churches. He quoted the Bible with astonishing ease and exactitude, and relied on it as on the supreme guide of faith. Although timid by nature, he led his students slowly but surely into new paths of study, convincing them that their Church was not only not infallible, but that it had actually gone astray on many points of doctrine. He was the best possible precursor of the Protestant missionaries; from his pupils they obtained their first assistants. Up to his death in 1837 he remained a staunch friend of Protestantism, although he never had the courage openly to join the Protestant community.

It was on the 9th of June, 1831, that the first missionary of the American Board, Rev. William Goodell, arrived in Constantinople, to be followed a year later by the Rev. Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, the pioneer, and by the Rev. William Gottlieb Schauffler, the linguist. It was fortunate for the new mission that it could retain the services of these excellent men for thirty years and more. Dr. Goodell retired in 1865 in his seventy-third year, and died on February 18, 1867, in Philadelphia. Dr. Schauffler lived on to 1883, when, at the age of eighty-four, he died in New York, the veteran of the mission.

These three men determined the character of the Board's work during the first three decades of its existence.

Dr. H. G. O. Dwight worked well-nigh uninterruptedly in Constantinople. His chief power lay in his untiring proclamation of the Gospel in Constantinople and its neighbourhood. In addition to learned treatises and magazine articles, he wrote in 1850 his "Christianity Revived in the East." (The second edition in 1854 had the title "Christianity in Turkey.") He met with his death in an unfortunate railway accident, whilst at home on furlough, on the 25th of January, 1862.

Two methods recommended themselves as the most effectual in gaining entrance and influence, namely *literary* and *educational* work. The former has been from the beginning the most prominent part of American activity, and their work in this sphere has been excellent. It may be said in general that the American missionaries have created a literature in every language in the Near East which fell within the field of their labours. The whole of the Bible was translated into modern Armenian, Armeno-Turkish and Osmanli-Turkish, the classical language of the Turks (cf. Chap. VII, 2, *a*, *b*), and is printed in various editions, as also in portions. Further they published the New Testament and the Psalms in ancient Armenian and in Kurdish. To supplement this direct Bible work, and as helps to a better understanding of the Bible, handbooks, concordances, commentaries and other books of the kind were written and published, especially in modern Armenian and Armeno-Turkish. Books of devotion were also compiled in both languages. Then there were handbooks on all the subjects taught both in the lower schools and in colleges. Even a weekly paper, the *Avedaper* (messenger), of a combined religious and secular character, received constant care and attention. It has appeared since 1885, partly in modern Armenian, partly in Armeno-Turkish, and has about one thousand subscribers. Nearly all of the American missionaries took part in a greater or less degree in this literary work; but the bulk of it lay on the shoulders of Dr. Goodell, who distinguished himself by the translation of the Bible

into Armeno-Turkish, and, later, on those of the linguist, Dr. Elias Riggs.

Elias Riggs was a reticent, retiring student, whose companions were his books, and whose chief delight was the acquiring of ancient and modern languages. He was a complete master of Greek, Armenian and Bulgarian; he studied the dead languages of the Near East, Hebrew and Chaldaic, Syriac and Koptic; he understood most of the living languages of Europe and Western Asia, at least well enough to be able to read their literature without any trouble. He had a gift for exact philological investigation, and was deeply interested in all questions connected with the study of languages. With all this scientific endowment, he was a man possessed of a steady determination to devote these talents to the service of the Christian Churches of the Orient, by providing them with good Protestant literature in languages understood by the common people. His work was devoted to the three great Oriental Churches, the Greek, the Bulgarian and the Armenian. He wrote many of the tracts and school-books that were necessary to the mission in their church and educational work. He assisted in the production of the magazines which the missionaries published, though he did not edit them himself. He translated and composed many hymns for the church services. Above all else, he devoted himself to the translation of the Bible with all his mind and heart. This work of his predilection was characterized by painful exactitude, patient research, sincere fidelity and a wonderfully consistent style. With equal intentness he strove to gain for himself a clear understanding of a passage and then to present it in words and phrases that would be at once understood by the simplest mind. His two complete versions, in Armenian and Bulgarian, are regarded by experts as masterpieces of translation. He was a member of the committee appointed to revise the Turkish version, it being his special task to give everywhere a clear exposition of the sense of the original Hebrew or Greek text of the Bible, which his colleagues undertook to express in the Turkish language.

Dr. Riggs' life was extraordinarily uneventful. Having been sent to the East as early as 1830, he assisted for some years in the mission schools in Argos (Greece), in Bebek, in Haskeui near Constantinople, and in Smyrna. After that he went to Constantinople, where he spent the latter half of his life, nearly fifty years, in quiet study. Highly esteemed by friends and opponents, greatly admired for his learning, and yet always of a retiring disposition, he spent these years in strenuous work, until at the age of ninety he entered into his rest on the 17th of January, 1901.

Though only a small minority of the Armenians could read, they were from of old a civilized nation with a great respect for books, and with a deep-rooted faith in the Bible as the Word of God and as the supreme authority for faith and conduct. So the open Bible was the missionaries' most powerful ally. An appeal to it was always impressive and through such oft-reiterated appeals they justified their work in the minds of the people. The Board's work among the Armenians consisted essentially in carrying out a favourite watchword of American friends of the mission: "The reintroduction of the Bible into Bible lands." Even after the pioneers of this great literary work had died, one after another other able men followed in their footsteps. Of these we mention only Dr. Edward Riggs, the son of Elias Riggs, Henry Otis Dwight, son of H. G. Otis Dwight, Dr. Henry S. Barnum (since 1867) and Dr. George F. Herrick.

It would have been impossible for the Board to carry out its comprehensive literary scheme, had not the British and American Bible Societies, as well as various religious tract societies rendered abundant help. The Bible House in Constantinople was the arsenal which supplied all the mission stations with the two-edged sword of God's Word (cf. Chap. VII, 2, *c*).

The second of the two methods which the American Board found most useful was *educational work*. Having made previous attempts in this direction in Greece, the American missionaries opened a grammar school in Constantinople in 1834.

After various changes, this was transformed in 1848 into a "Seminary" in Bebek, a suburb of Constantinople, with Dr. Cyrus Hamlin as its active and capable head. The intention was to attract the flower of the Armenian youth by offering a thorough Western education. Other less important schools had the same aim in view. It soon became evident, however, that this end could not be so easily accomplished as had been expected. There were other opportunities for advanced education in Constantinople and its neighbourhood, the district to which the mission was at first confined. For the leading Armenian bankers, not liking to see the Americans monopolize higher education, set up rival schools. Besides, the mission had learned that, in order to gain influence in the Armenian Church, it was more necessary to spread the knowledge of the Gospel among its clergy, and to get as many of the clergy as possible under their influence for a time. So the seminary in Bebek was converted into a preparatory theological institution.

It was not the original plan of the Americans to found separate Protestant churches. They rejoiced not to be obliged to take up at once such an attitude towards the ancient Church as had been forced on their brethren in Syria by the deliberate hostility of the Maronites in the Lebanon. They hoped gradually to leaven the Armenians and their Church with Gospel teaching and a vigorous Christian life, being ready, meanwhile, to bear patiently the abuses and antiquated forms of that Church, until in course of time their teaching should promote a reform of the whole church life from within. But they were disappointed. The leaders of the Armenians, and the higher clergy in particular, soon began to look askance at the rapid progress of the Protestant mission, and to combat it with imprisonment, banishment, and a policy of petty vexation. The Patriarch Stephan III (1831–1839, and 1840–1841) was dethroned because he was too indulgent, too favourable towards the Protestants. His successor, the Patriarch Matteos (1844–1848), made it his chief aim to extirpate the Protestant

movement. Nor is he altogether to be blamed. The American Mission was more of a threat than perhaps its missionaries realized to the unity of an ancient Church, with whose ecclesiastical organization and with whose historic forms the democratic spirit of American congregationalism was, at best, but little in accord. And with this church unity, which the American Mission thus threatened, was wrapped up the national ideal.

Robbed of political independence, scattered over wide and diverse areas, having not even a common language, the Armenians had but one bond of union left them, their Church. To touch this, to threaten its existence, was regarded as a crime against their nation. The most powerful motive of Armenian opposition to the American Mission was the fear that its success would break or at least loosen the unity of the national Church.

The Patriarch Matteos had effectual means at his disposal to annihilate the flourishing Protestant work. The sharpest weapon at his command was the power of excommunication, and this he wielded in the freest and most effective manner. Protestants, or those suspected of Protestant tendencies, even the pupils of the mission schools, were excommunicated, sometimes as individuals, sometimes by companies (1844–1846). The churches in the metropolis, and in all the districts in which the Protestants had exercised any influence, resounded with the anathemas of excommunication. Parents were commanded to disown their children, employers to dismiss Protestant labourers. Protestants were to be forced to pay their debts at once, without any mercy; no baker nor butcher was to sell them anything; they were to be shunned like the plague. The peculiar double function of the Armenian Patriarch, who is not only the ecclesiastical but also the political and social head of his community, enabled him to cause the curses of his excommunications to fall with irresistible force on all who had Protestant leanings. Many families, especially in the capital, were bereft of home and sustenance. The missionaries appealed to the Protestants of Europe and America for help in

supplying their persecuted converts with food and shelter, and in giving them a new start in life.

2. *From the Organization of the Protestant Church in 1850 Until the Armenian Massacres in 1895*

A critical turning-point had been reached. What was to be done? The Protestant Mission and its adherents had been solemnly and officially thrust out of the Armenian Church. If the Americans were not to drop their work altogether, they could hardly avoid organizing a separate Church. This would have a far-reaching influence on civic life. Ecclesiastical communities are in Turkey at the same time civic corporations. They have their own taxation registers, they record their own births, deaths and marriages in accordance with the Turkish official forms. They settle among themselves many civil cases, especially heritage quarrels. The religious community must give bond for any of their number who wish to open a shop or to start a trade. If the Americans wished to build up a Protestant community, they would have to organize their adherents as a civic corporation. Their converts must leave the communion, inherited from the fathers and sanctified by age, to form themselves into a new communion based on the Protestant faith.

Fortunately for the Protestant cause, the English ambassador at that time, Lord Stratford Canning de Redcliff, understood and warmly interested himself in what was going on. After consulting with his government and the missionaries, he first made a preliminary arrangement, which was followed in 1850 by the proclamation of an imperial firman granting a legal status to the "Protestants" (abbreviated by the Turks into "Prote"), of whom there were 1,007, as a new ecclesiastical and civic corporation. Since they had no bishop, who, like the patriarchs, might negotiate directly with the Porte, the civic functions of such an ecclesiastical head were transferred to an "Agent of the Protestants," to be chosen by themselves. But be it noticed, all Protestants in the whole of Turkey were by this firman allowed to form only one civic

and ecclesiastical community, whatever their nationalities might be; they ceased to be Armenians or Greeks, Arabians or Syrians, and all came under the category of "Protestants." However great the gain was, and however thankfully the persecuted Armenians and their missionaries were for the firman, it is evident that it had many disappointments in store for the Protestant cause. Under such a constitution it was very difficult for Protestantism really to become popular in the Eastern Churches; it looked like a wedge threatening to split up their nationalities. In the name of the patriotism for which both Armenians and Greeks are famous, the Eastern Churches raised repeated protests against such national decomposition, and more than once at critical moments the cry was heard, "We hope to become twice as much evangelical as you are, but we will never become Protestants."

Yet these evils did not immediately become apparent; on the contrary, the firman of 1850 was followed by a great advance on the part of the mission. A great task was placed before it, the task of building up a separate Protestant Church. The first step they took was to extend their *sphere of activity* considerably. Even prior to the rupture they had gained some footing in Asia Minor. Since 1820 *Smyrna* had been occupied, though not continually, the first station of the American Board in the Levant. When the station in Malta was given up in 1833 (cf. Chap. IV, *a*, 1), the printing-press and its accessories, with the exception of what was required for Arabic work in Beirut, was taken to Smyrna, which was permanently occupied by the American missionaries in 1834. Owing to the close connection of Constantinople with *Bithynia* on the other side of the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmora, some sparks of evangelical truth had been carried into the latter territory and had burst into flame, particularly in Brusa, Nicomedia and Adabazar, where small Protestant congregations had been formed under the leadership of converted priests. Brusa had been occupied as a station in 1834. When, in the same year, the Board's Persian Mission among the Nestorians was begun in Urmia, *Trebizond* became the Black

Sea harbour from which the overland route to Persia started. It therefore was an indispensable place for a depot on the road to the distant inland mission field, and work was begun there in 1840. This single link between Constantinople and the mission field in Persia proved insufficient, in view of the great distance, the bad roads, the lack of facilities for travelling, and the danger from bands of Kurdish robbers. So in 1840 a second station was established in *Erzerum*, half-way from Trebizond to Lake Urmia. This ancient and important town recommended itself the more, because it was considered to be the capital of Turkish Armenia and lay in the midst of a district very thickly populated by Armenians.

At the time of the rupture more new stations were founded, either as a favourable opportunity offered itself, or according to a well-considered plan, whereby the work was to be extended so as to reach all towns and districts with a large Armenian population. The first station, *Aintab*, lay far inland from the Bay of Iscanderun, on the southern slope of the wild Taurus range. Bedros, an Armenian priest in Constantinople, had been banished to a monastery in Jerusalem on account of his Protestant leanings. On the way thither he escaped to Aintab, where his preaching found such unexpected and general acceptance that the missionaries, after a short visit of inspection, established there a station in 1846. In a short time Aintab became one of the most powerful centres of the entire work. From Aintab the work was extended along the southern slope of the Taurus eastwards and westwards. *Marash*, the most important of the stations founded from Aintab as a centre, soon became a flourishing sister-station. Other towns were only temporarily occupied by American missionaries. Such towns were Urfa, the ancient Edessa, the renowned town of Abraham, Aleppo, the thriving centre of Northern Syria, Adana, the capital of the fertile Cilician plain, and the proud, grim mountain fastnesses of Hadjin and Zeitun. In 1856 this branch of the mission to the south of the Taurus was organized as a separate mission,

called at first the "Southern Mission," and later, the "Mission of Central Turkey."

Another important starting-point of extensive development was in the wild highlands of Southwestern Armenia and Kurdistan, with their deep fertile valleys. The attention of the missionaries was directed to this field of work on their long journeys from Trebizond across the highlands of Asia Minor to Mesopotamia. Just as the importance of establishing an intermediate station in Erzerum had become clear to them on their journeyings to Urmia, so did it happen in the case of *Diarbekr*, on their way to Mosul. This important ancient city was the end of the weary overland journey. Thence they floated down to Mosul in a few days, on inflated sheepskins or on simple wooden rafts. Diarbekr was occupied in 1851. Soon it became evident that there was a favourable opening in the neighbouring districts lying to the north and northwest. The missionaries seized the opportunity the more joyfully because they thus won an entrance into the heart of the original home of the Armenians.

Kharput, on the upper Euphrates, boldly situated on a precipitous mountain, became in 1855 the first mission centre for this district. Arabkir, which was afterwards attached to Kharput, had been occupied two years earlier. In the course of the years other stations were added—Sivas, farther west, Bitlis and Van to the east and northeast respectively. In 1860 this district was organized as the "Mission in Eastern Turkey."

For some decades there was to the south and southwest another group of stations forming the "Assyrian" or "East Syrian" Mission. When the Board began a vigorous work among the Mountain Nestorians in the wild and pathless highlands lying between the middle Tigris and the Lake of Urmia, it seemed to be indispensable, on account of the difficult travelling, to establish a station as a resting-place on the opposite Mesopotamian side of this mountain waste. *Mosul* was fixed upon for this purpose, which, however, salubrious and central as it was, was unbearably hot during

the three summer months. The station had to be abandoned temporarily in 1844, when the Protestant Episcopal Church of America settled there in order to commence a mission among the Nestorians. The Board wished to avoid friction. That mission, however, left Mosul a few years later, and the Board reoccupied it in 1849, in order to make a further advance into the Nestorian highlands. This work was very arduous, and many noble lives were lost on the long and fatiguing journeys to Mosul. So it became evident that Mosul lay too far away to serve the purpose for which a station had been founded there, and it was abandoned in 1860.

The missionaries working in the Mosul district had come into close contact with the Jacobites, whose ecclesiastical language, like that of the Nestorians, is a Syrian dialect, which, however, is no longer understood by the common people, who know only Arabic. The religious centre of these Jacobites is *Mardin*, a town lying in a high and healthful position above the Mesopotamian plain. Unfortunately the Roman Church long ago gained a strong influence among the people, and has split them up into two parties. The Americans began their work here in 1858. In 1860 the stations at Diarbekr, Mosul and Mardin were organized as the "Assyrian Mission," of which we have already spoken. When Mosul was given up, it seemed advisable to connect the other two stations with the "East Turkish Mission." The work in Mardin is still rather isolated, Mardin being the only station of the Board where the work is carried on in Arabic.

The work in Asia Minor was also extended. Marsovan, which lies inland from the middle of the northern coast, became a station in 1851. Other stations were added, in Tokat, where Henry Martyn died; in Amasia, where Strabo, the great geographer, was born; in Cæsarea, the ancient capital of Cappadocia, the birthplace of the two distinguished brothers, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa; and in other towns. These stations were organized in 1860 as the "West Turkish Mission." Doors seemed to be opened every-

where. Even in notoriously fanatical places the hostility of the people was overcome and their confidence won. In Diarbekr, where at first not even the lives of the missionaries were safe, ten years later the townspeople extended a truly royal welcome to a missionary on his return. In Hadjin and Zeitun the missionaries were at first in the greatest danger, and were obliged to flee for their lives; five years later their successors were besieged day and night by eager hearers, wishing to learn from them.

It would lead us too far to follow up in detail the history of the stations and missions. We must not even try to give a complete list of the stations among which there have been so many changes in the course of years. Suffice it to say that the centres of the Armenian population were occupied by the mission. From Erzerum attempts were even made to push forward into Russian Armenia, lying close at hand; but here the intolerance of the Russian Church was a great hindrance.

The personnel of the American Mission has always been large and distinguished. As a rule there have been forty men regularly employed as ordained and medical missionaries and as teachers; and, including the missionaries' wives, about sixty ladies. The term of service has, owing to the healthful climate, been on the average a long one. The expenses have been partially met since 1854 by the "Turkish Missions' Aid Society" in England, which has contributed from £2,000 to £2,500 annually.

With a view to supporting the Turkish Mission of the American Board, the Turkish Missions' Aid Society was formed on the 3d of July, 1854, chiefly through the efforts of the Rev. C. G. Young. Contributions came from members of different British denominations, the Aid Society following its own principles in distributing its funds. While not helping to meet such expenses as those of missionaries' salaries, dwellings and travel, they liberally supported the native clergy, the schools, the orphanages and the hospitals. Especially in times of trouble, as during the Armenian massacres

of 1895 and 1896, and the Macedonian disturbances of 1905 and 1906, the Society rendered much help. After 1893 its name was changed to "The Bible Lands' Mission Aid Society," on account of the extension of its support to almost all the missions in the Near East. It is a magnificent and pleasing expression of English sympathy with the missions in this important and attractive field, in which there is comparatively little done directly by English missionary societies.

The inner development of the mission kept pace with its territorial extension. Its churches naturally followed the pattern of American congregationalism. On the 1st of July, 1846, a week after the excommunication of the Protestants by the Patriarch Matteos, the first congregation was established in Constantinople. The procedure in this case is typical of the founding of later churches.

The Protestant Armenians applied by letter to the missionaries for help in this unaccustomed work. They received a working scheme for a "Protestant Armenian Church," which was set on foot on the 1st of July. After prayer had been offered and a passage of Scripture read, the Confession of Faith, the Covenant and the Rules of Discipline were read and explained. Then all present were summoned to indicate their consent by standing up. All arose and responded after every article of the Confession, "Thus we believe." In the same way they gave their consent to the Covenant. Then the missionaries and certain Europeans arose and pronounced the assembly to be a true church of Christ. A roll of members was then made, which contained the names of thirty-seven men and three women. These members then proceeded to elect a pastor by ballot. A man named Khatshadurian, an able Armenian who had already proved his sincerity by suffering for the Gospel, was chosen. Other church officers were thereupon elected. Finally Rev. O. Dwight was requested to assist the inexperienced pastor for a while. A week later a special meeting of the missionaries was called in order to ordain Khatshadurian. He was ordained with the laying on of hands. A pamphlet was issued by the congregation justi-

fying and describing its procedure. The process of constituting congregations was similar everywhere in Turkey, though the degree of formality varied. The missionaries always adhered to the plan of letting the assembled Protestants choose their own pastor and other church officials, who then organized the ministry and other congregational matters as best they were able. To be sure, this democratic method is not altogether suited to the Eastern mind. After ages of autocratic rule, it was at first difficult for them to accustom themselves to a democratic constitution, which entailed both the privileges and the duties of autonomy. Sometimes they exhibited a childish spirit of rebellion against the authority of the missionaries, *e. g.*, in 1861, when the congregation at Pera separated itself from the mission because they were not granted the right to dispose of money sent from America for the mission. At other times, through ignorance and want of experience, they committed faults which were difficult to remedy. Yet it must not be forgotten that, under the circumstances, there lay a well-nigh inestimable advantage in the plan of conceding what was nearly unlimited congregational freedom. The task of the missionaries was, not to sow the first seeds of Christianity among heathen, but to raise a people that had for centuries possessed Christian feelings, thoughts and aspirations, to a higher level of Christian life and knowledge. It was necessary to put an end to the guardianship and autocratic rule of the clergy, which had been a barrier to higher development. To effect this the American democratic ideals were highly adapted, perhaps more so than the constitution of an Episcopal Church. So, after all, the disadvantage of possible democratic excesses was outweighed by the resultant training in self-reliance.

We mentioned before that every recognized Church in Turkey enjoys a certain amount of autonomy. It was a wise act of the Board that its missionaries conceded those privileges accorded to the Protestants by the firman of 1850, without any restriction, to the newly formed congregations. With people of so strong a national feeling as the Armenians, the

only hope of extending Protestantism lies in keeping the foreign element in the background, especially in matters of church government. Further, the Board soon found that a mistake had been made at the outset in supplying money too plentifully for congregational and educational purposes, as well as for salaries, buildings and other ends. As the Armenians had ever been accustomed to make great pecuniary sacrifices for their churches and their ministry, it was only fair that the Protestant congregations should be as far as possible self-supporting, even should this require strenuous effort on the part of small communities. Here, as in other missions, self-support was a lesson learned by Protestant converts only after painful experience; for they did not readily abandon the convenient theory that the money sent out from America was not intended for the missionaries but for themselves.

The newly formed congregations were at first sorely isolated in various parts of Asiatic Turkey. It became evident that they must have some kind of union, however loose. For there were several things to be done which could not be left to each congregation, as, for instance, the formation and acknowledgment of new congregations, the ordination and dismissal of ministers and the granting or withdrawal of licenses to preach. Some kind of board of appeal was also evidently required. Further, the great distances separating the congregations rendered a yearly conference all the more necessary. So several congregational unions were formed. They coincided only partially with the several missions of which we have spoken, and thus exhibited most strikingly the abstention of the missionaries from mingling in church affairs. Such a union was formed in Kharput in 1865, under the name of "*The Kharput Protestant Union.*" In 1864 certain congregations in Brusa, Nicomedia, Adabazar and the neighbourhood had united as "*The Union of the Protestant Armenian Churches of Bithynia.*" This union acquired later particular importance by joining with the congregations in Constantinople. A third, "*The Central Turkish Protestant Union,*"

was formed in Marsovan in 1868, while a fourth, "*The Cilician Union*," was formed in the south. These unions had a decided effect in developing a spirit of self-government. After a visitation from America in 1883, the unions were constitutionally organized and extended.

The characteristic feature of the inner life of these congregations is the general adoption of the Congregational principle of distinguishing between the communicant members and the adherents. All the seceders from the old Church had already been baptized and confirmed and their children had also been baptized as infants. So it was very surprising and puzzling to them when they learned that the Americans admitted but a small number to the Lord's Supper, and permitted only the children of communicants to be baptized, especially as it was the exaggerated and almost superstitious view of the sacrament which had contributed in no small measure to the petrifaction of the Oriental Churches. Under the new régime they must pass an examination to gain admission to the Lord's Supper, an examination often by no means easy. In one place twenty candidates were examined for ten hours, after which only eleven of them were considered fit for admission. It will, perhaps, be best to describe the case of a single congregation, which, after passing through the stage of utter astonishment, at last accustomed itself to this congregational practice.

In Diarbekr the pious and zealous medical missionary, Dr. Azariah Smith, founded in 1851 a small Protestant church of about fifty Armenians and Jacobites, eleven of whom he admitted as communicant members. As soon as it became known that only those who were of reputed piety would be recognized as communicant members, influential Jacobites endeavoured to have the rule altered, so that any Protestant of irreproachable character should be regarded as a full member without further test. There ensued much controversy and the Protestant cause was all but ruined, as the natives threatened to return to their old Churches. At length Dr. Smith persuaded them to listen to a sermon on Luke 18: 18–30 and

Acts 2: 43–47, in which he set forth the ideal of the "one holy Catholic Church" in glowing words. The difficulty subsided for a time. But by the year 1854 friction had again become so violent that the church of communicant members had to be dissolved. A new examination took place, and again only eleven out of twenty candidates were admitted. For a time there was again a calm. But eight years later there arrived a Protestant Scripture reader, Garabed, a protégé of Samuel Gobat, then Bishop of Jerusalem, who had in Jerusalem become acquainted with the rules of the Anglican Church. He maintained that all adult Protestants should be admitted to the Lord's Supper, and their children baptized without exception. This naturally gave rise to new trouble and a further crisis.

As there was no central authority for the Churches, the missionaries travelled hither and thither trying to establish their influence in the congregations, supporting, comforting, advising and admonishing both the native pastors and catechists and the congregations themselves. In some cases, as in Kharput, special men were set apart for this evangelizing work within the Protestant community.

In 1846 the Board began to pay special attention to *educational* work. After the Protestants in Turkey had been formed into separate communities side by side with the other Churches, it was necessary, in the nature of the case, to provide a separate educational system for the youth of the congregations. This was done by establishing primary schools, which the church-members were expected to maintain as soon as they should be able to do so. Even more necessary was it to train able and reliable teachers and ministers under Protestant influence. We have already told how the Board began its educational work in Constantinople by establishing advanced schools with a view to attracting promising young Armenians. This undertaking was now abandoned, for the expense of such institutions was excessive, nor did they seem altogether necessary as a pioneering agency, since there was at that time a general interest in the Gospel among the Armenians. The Board wished to devote attention to the congregations,

and to respond to the calls for teachers, catechists and pastors, which came to them from all quarters. This task of training a native ministry was difficult enough in view of the democratic principles of the Congregational mission. As each congregation is independent, it exercises its own judgment in the election of a pastor, teacher or catechist. The functions of the Union to which such a church belongs are confined to the examination, recognition and ordination of the ministry. So the Board can but provide institutions for the training of students, some of whom come of their own accord and at their own expense, while others are sent either by the congregations or the missionaries. Their training finished, the mission does not undertake the responsibility of finding situations for them or of providing them with salaries. It is for the individual congregations or the unions or the individual missionaries to engage such candidates. That is the theory at any rate, and it is more and more working out into practice. Yet, after all, the influence of the missionaries is considerable in the matter of the engagement and work of all teachers and pastors, by reason of their superior insight and the weight of their opinion in all church affairs.

The schools have been subjected to many changes both in their nature and in the standards which they have maintained. In Turkey there is no fixed system of education, there being neither a standard course of study for the pupils nor a required grade of proficiency for the teachers. The entire matter is left in the hands of the various religious bodies. The missionaries who, following home example, were inclined to make high demands on teachers and pupils, had to come to an agreement with the congregations as to what the children should learn and what the qualifications of the teachers should be. On the latter point the question as to what salary the congregation was able and willing to give was decisive. It was long before the members learned to appreciate the value of a thorough primary education for their children. It will be instructive to give the experience of one congregation in this matter.

In 1872 the congregation at Aintab applied to the Board thus: "We remember how things stood twenty-five or thirty years ago. At that time we did not realize the necessity and advantages of education. A population of 10,000 Armenians in Aintab was satisfied with one school, in which reading and writing could be learned. When, by the action of the Board, the Bible had been translated into our common language, our views with regard to schools underwent a change, we know not how. We, as Protestant Armenians, were no longer satisfied with even three or four schools, nor with the fact that only our sons could be educated; something must be done for our daughters too. We found also that ability merely to read and write did not suffice; the children needed to be taught more than this. While at first we were hardly willing to send our children to school, though it was the missionaries who bore the expense of their education, now we were willing to establish secondary schools at our own cost. In the light of God's Word we saw that we must be educated, would we become good Christians, good fathers and mothers and useful members of society. This desire was materially increased by the fact that there was among our Churches a demand for a better educated class of men as teachers and ministers. All the congregations in our union are convinced that the status of the clergy must be raised."

The pastors and catechists too had difficulties of their own. Preaching itself was almost unknown in the ancient Church. The presbyters and deacons of that Church had only to read the long and unintelligible liturgies. Since for this purpose little more was required than the ability to read, there was a very low grade of education prevalent among the lower clergy. It was not easy to raise up alongside such a clergy one that was versed in the Holy Scriptures, well grounded in Christian doctrine, and experienced in preaching and teaching, in the care of souls and in the administration of church affairs.

The Board founded four theological seminaries, or training-schools, one for each of the three Turkish Missions: in Marsovan for the Western Turkish Mission; in Kharput for

Eastern Turkey ; and for Central Turkey in Marash. A fourth had to be provided in Mardin for those in the southeast who spoke Arabic. These theological institutions cannot be compared with those of the Churches in America. The training in them is confined to the more important theological studies, exposition of the Scriptures standing in the centre of the whole course. Instruction is generally given in the language of the students. Little attention is devoted to foreign languages, either English, Greek or Hebrew. In order, however, to fit the students thoroughly for their work among their own people, they are made acquainted with the ancient Armenian and the Turkish languages.

It is natural that the demand for education should expand in proportion to the spiritual advance of the Protestant Armenian Church. While the first students in the seminaries were half developed men without much preparatory training, it became necessary later to provide a better preliminary training, in order that the work in the theological seminaries might be more thorough and fruitful. Accordingly intermediate schools were instituted between the primary schools and the seminaries. Such schools had to become more numerous, as more boys grew up in Protestant families, who wished to have a better education, that they might enter the higher professions, not exclusively now as teachers and ministers. The necessity of satisfying this demand was laid upon the mission by the fact that there were no other schools available for the training of these boys.

At this point in our record of the development of educational institutions we must view in some detail the work of Dr. Cyrus Hamlin.

Cyrus Hamlin[1] was sent to Asia Minor in 1838 and was commissioned in the following year to found the theological seminary of which we have already spoken, in Bebek near Constantinople—no easy task for a young man of twenty-eight. At first the house was small, the educational apparatus insufficient and the students nearly all of them poor. It was a task

[1] Dr. Cyrus Hamlin : " My Life and Times Among the Turks

that just suited Hamlin, who knew how to make the best of any situation. His inventiveness so terrified the indolent Turks that they regarded him as the greatest "sheitan" (satan) in Constantinople. It was rumoured that he took a photograph of every convert, and that, should any of them apostatize, Hamlin would shoot at the picture or cut it through, with the result that the man would surely die. His electrical machine, it was said, was for the sole purpose of "making Protestants." If he merely looked intently at an Armenian or Greek, he won power over him.[1] But to the poor and the sick he appeared as a guardian angel, and although he was not by profession a doctor, yet he was appointed as medical officer for the poor in the suburb. During a serious epidemic of cholera he was indefatigable in allaying the sufferings of the sick, saving many lives by his loving care. He never shunned hardship or danger. Once, during the holidays, one of his students fell ill and died before Hamlin could reach him. When he arrived at the house it had been deserted, the dead body having been left in it. A terrified crowd stood outside. The foul odour characteristic of cholera issued from the window. No one had the courage to help bury the body. Hamlin at once ordered a number of boards and a hammer and nails to be brought, and soon had made a large box. Then having tied a cloth saturated with vinegar over mouth and nose, he entered the house, carried the dead body out and laid it in the coffin. After that the crowd was willing to complete the burial.

Such a virile personality could not fail to influence those with whom he came into contact. His college filled astonishingly. He was particularly pleased that nearly a fourth part of the students came from Armenian or Greek manses, in spite of the growing hostility to the mission among the native clergy. The greater number of his eager students were poor, unable even to clothe themselves decently. Yet Hamlin did not wish them to receive what they lacked as charity; he

[1] These are but samples of the superstition that the missionaries frequently met with among Oriental Christians as well as among Muhammadans.

preferred to let them earn what was necessary. So he arranged workshops in connection with his college. In addition to the hours devoted to teaching, he stood for an hour every morning at the carpenter's bench, spent another hour at midday at the anvil, and at night arranged the work for the tailors or examined the mending of the boots. He was, however, richly rewarded by the happy, busy spirit which he observed among his boys.

Then there came the rupture with the ancient Church. The converts were boycotted, no one having anything to do with the Protestants, no one employing them. It was against Hamlin's principles to give the hungry Protestants food out of charity; he knew that he would be rendering them better service by obtaining work for them. The outbreak of the Crimean War and the subsequent formation of the large camp of the English army on the Bosphorus gave him his opportunity. He determined to set up a large bakery and a flour mill worked by steam, in order to provide the poor Protestants with work whilst supplying bread to the troops. His American colleagues shook their heads and drew back from him; but he was not disconcerted, even though the Board refused to supply him with the funds necessary for his undertaking. Day by day he delivered at the camp 14,000 pounds of good loaves of full weight, and withal so punctually and honestly that the military authorities quite seriously proposed that he should supply the troops in other places also. At the close of the war Hamlin discontinued this work, which, to the surprise of his friends, had realized a net gain of £5,500. This sum he paid in to the treasurer of the mission to the last farthing, thus stopping the mouths of those who had doubted his honesty.

Nevertheless Hamlin left the Society in 1860, feeling that he could not agree with their educational methods. The seminary which he had founded was to be removed to Marsovan in Asia Minor, and in place of the hitherto prevalent use of English in the teaching, the vernaculars were to be introduced. He determined to continue his work independently, without

means and support as he was. His idea was to found in Constantinople a college on the American pattern, which should serve as a channel through which to irrigate the parched fields of the ancient Churches, and perhaps even the corrupt Turkish society, with the life-giving streams of English Christian culture. But where could he obtain the necessary means? He visited the United States, endeavouring by lectures and conferences to gain supporters for his scheme, and he succeeded in awakening enthusiasm in the heart of Christopher Robert, a New York merchant, with whose help, chiefly, he set to work, calling his institution the "Robert College."

Plentifully supplied with money,[1] Hamlin returned to Constantinople, but only to meet with new difficulties. The Porte refused to sanction such far-reaching plans, for it was not in its interests to permit its Christian subjects to be well educated. Hamlin was not permitted to build on the first site which he had bought. In buying a second plot he made the stipulation that he should pay no money before permission to build on it was granted. It was not long before a document in the grand vizier's own handwriting, granting him permission to build, was handed to him. Thereupon he paid the price, but hardly was the money out of his hands, when two officials of the Porte appeared on the site to stop the building operations, stating that there were still "some formalities to be attended to." Then followed further difficulties. The Jesuits, who at that time were very influential, did all in their power to suppress the Protestant college. In this they were supported by the French and Russian ambassadors, while the American consul declared that he was not authorized to support Hamlin. How was the latter now to carry out his project? Had he not been an American, he would most likely have lost courage. But he persevered. The further development of the case became so dramatic, and the dénouement was so comical, that it is a pity we cannot give it in detail. The visit of an American admiral to Constantinople, a letter written by Hamlin to his

[1] At the time of his death in 1878 Mr. Robert had given $400,000 for the college.

consul, the outbreak of a rebellion in Crete—all these operated together and one day Hamlin, to his great surprise and joy, not only received permission from the Porte to build his college, but was also informed that it would be recognized as a college incorporated by the legislature of New York and placed under its protection.

The opening of the college in Bebek, five miles to the north of Constantinople, took place in 1863. It stands in a beautiful position, below it the blue waters of the Bosphorus, immediately behind it the bold ruins of the Rumeli Castle, on every side an extensive view of the mountains of Asia and Europe with their castles, towns, and villages. Situated in the midst of such delightful surroundings, picture to yourself an imposing structure that would grace an American university.

The curriculum at the Robert College, which is affiliated with the New York University, includes, as in similar institutions in America, a four years' preparatory course in the academy, which was supplied with a new building called the Theodorus Hall in 1902, and which has at present 194 students. In the college proper there is a twofold four years' course in arts and in science, upon the successful completion of which the degree of B. A. or a science degree is bestowed. The classes are attended by about 180 students. Few, however, go in for the examinations. The college buildings include the Hamlin Hall and the Albert Long Hall. The entire property of the college contains twenty-three acres. In addition to the buildings already mentioned there are a gymnasium, five professors' dwellings, and numerous outbuildings, the whole presenting an imposing appearance. But it can hardly be called a missionary institution. On principle it declines to draw away students from their Church in order to make them Protestants. Students are simply required to attend daily morning and evening prayers and the services on Sunday. There is a Young Men's Christian Association, founded in 1892 by Luther Wishard, the well-known secretary of the American Y. M. C. A., and it does much to create a Christian atmosphere. It is a remarkable fact, that, although the college lies

so close to fanatical Constantinople, there are among the 373 students, sixteen Turks, five Kurds and two Arabs. Up to the year 1905, 2,705 students passed through the institution.[1] Cyrus Hamlin remained president of the college only till 1873, when he returned home worn out with his labours. There remained to him, however, a long eventide of life, which he spent as professor of theology. His countrymen heaped on him high honours; he received the degrees of Doctor of Divinity and Doctor of Philosophy. He died in Portland, Maine, on the 8th of August, 1900. Several talented and able men have since been successful presidents of the Robert College, *e. g.*, C. F. Gates, LL. D., D. D., and George Washburn, D. D.

The mission hesitated to follow the example of Cyrus Hamlin. It was not their wish to deorientalize their pupils by imparting an English education to them, nor to make them dissatisfied with their simpler life by arousing unattainable ambitions in their breasts. Yet the demand for higher education was growing apace. The need of an educated ministry, too, was pressing, and there was a sad gap between the primary schools and the theological seminaries. In 1874 the first college was founded in Aintab.[2] Since then two other similar institutions have been opened for the two other missions, the Euphrates College at Kharput in 1876, and the Anatolia College at Marsovan in 1886. All three have, in the course of years, so developed that they provide primary, secondary, and college education, along with certain courses in special subjects. A further stage of development in the general educational system was entered upon about the year 1880. The Armenians had become alive to the fact that, if they were to take their proper place in Turkey and in the world, they must surpass the other nations of the country in education. A great desire for enlightenment seized the Protes-

[1] In 1900, twelve former students had entered the ministry, eighty-eight had become teachers, fifty were state officials (especially in Bulgaria), fourteen were judges and thirty-seven medical men. Those who, after passing through the Robert College, wish to pursue study in special subjects, go to the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, where they enjoy special advantages.

[2] "The Higher Educational Institutions of the American Board," Boston, 1904.

tants as well as the Gregorians. The leading missionaries felt bound to satisfy this strong desire. Consequently the number of educational institutions has greatly increased during the last twenty-five years, and twenty-five "high schools" for boys have been added to the colleges, most of them boarding-schools. The standards of these high schools are becoming higher from year to year. The English language occupies an ever larger place.

In the ancient Church the *education of girls* was at a very low ebb, and it was long before even the Protestant Armenians became aware that it was necessary that the girls, too, should at least be taught Bible history, reading, writing, and singing. In the smaller congregations the girls attended the same schools as the boys, while in larger places separate primary schools for girls gradually sprang up. It became evident that it was of the utmost importance that the girls should be trained under the same Christian influences, if they were to become the wives of teachers and elders, pastors and catechists. The first high school for girls was a school for the daughters of educated Armenians, begun in Constantinople on lines similar to those of the Bebek Seminary. After the rupture of 1846, however, this plan was abandoned, as it was found that the students in the theological seminary were mostly married men who came with their families to enter upon the four years' course of study. Thus it became necessary so to arrange matters that the wives, too, should profit by their prolonged stay in the mission stations, while their husbands were attending the seminaries. To meet this want a new system of higher education was tried; it became even more important when female teachers for the primary girls' schools and Bible-women in the churches came to be needed. Add to this that an increasing number of the more well-to-do Armenian families, especially in Constantinople and Smyrna, were willing at some sacrifice to afford their daughters the advantages of a Protestant education in separate boarding-schools. In consequence of the relations between the sexes in the East, boarding-schools are more necessary for female educa-

tion than with us. The result was that in 1871 a Protestant girls' boarding-school was founded in Scutari, near Constantinople.

The increased demand for knowledge on the part of women caused this side of the educational system of the mission to grow in a surprising manner—we might almost say, too quickly. Perhaps a German writer is not a fully competent critic of American schemes for female education, as it is known that Germans hold somewhat different views on the position of women in society from the American ideals. So Americans are inclined to extend to Oriental women, too, a fuller measure of educational advantages than seems desirable or proper to a German mind. An important factor in this development is to be found in the growing strength and influence of women's missionary societies in America which had at their disposal an ample supply of lady missionaries and of means to further their views. By 1895 the number of girls' boarding-schools had increased to twenty with 1,200 boarders. Some of them, as in Kharput and Marash, became colleges. The highest and most prominent institution is the American College for Girls at Scutari, founded in 1890, publicly recognized by an official decree, an irade of the Sultan, in 1895, and even relieved of taxation.

Turkey has also enjoyed the benefits of medical missions, which since 1870 have become so prominent in the work of American missionary societies. Medical missionary work was begun at first on a small scale in all the missions, especially in the towns of Cæsarea, Aintab, and Mardin.

One of the most prominent of the medical missionaries in the service of the American Board during those earlier decades was Dr. Henry West, who, born in 1827, was sent in 1859 to serve among the Armenians, being stationed at Sivas. He died in 1876, having worn himself out not only by unremitting work in his profession, but also in the exercise of an unusual ability for training native assistants to become able doctors themselves. The Rev. E. Riggs declares, "that the best and most reliable medical men in the towns of Asia Minor were

mostly pupils of the celebrated medical missionary, Dr. H. West." The natives said of him, "He is like Jesus."

For the fifty years following the rupture in 1846 the development of the Protestant Mission was quiet and steady. The Board's report of the year 1895 stated that the Armenian Mission numbered at that time 14, for the most part well equipped, main stations, and 268 out-stations. There were 46 missionaries and one medical missionary, 42 missionaries' wives, and 63 other lady missionaries, making a total American force of 152 persons. In addition to these there were 90 Armenian pastors, 117 catechists, 529 teachers and 66 other assistants—a total Armenian force of 800. One hundred and eleven churches had 11,835 full members and about 20,000 adherents. It was calculated that there were 32,092 adults and 24,132 children in the Sunday-schools. Accordingly the entire Protestant community numbered about 50,000 souls. Protestant influence was evidently on the increase and the prospects of the mission were most promising.

From our report of this missionary movement it might be supposed that, after the time of the rupture, the American missionaries used all their influence to increase their own congregations by an uncompromising propagandism. It must be stated that, if we look at the mission as a whole, this reproach seems to us quite unjust. It is true that, after the establishing of Protestant Churches had become a necessity, the missionaries shunned none of the difficulties connected with the forming of new congregations and schools in their endeavour to lay a sure foundation for the building up of a virile Protestant ecclesiastical system. They knew that a considerable period of hatred, and even of open hostility, would have to elapse before the Gregorians would be in a frame of mind to judge them fairly, since their work must lie under the suspicion of being a proselytizing effort to destroy the ancient Church, an undertaking similar to the intrigues of the Jesuits. But in the prosecution of their work they ever kept in mind the whole nation, aiming to fill their hearts with evangelical teaching, to give them a new religious life, and to

raise them to a higher moral level. The means they employed for this purpose, in the face of much misrepresentation, were the distribution of the Bible and sound Protestant literature, and a vigorous work of higher education. As they were debarred from working among that portion of the Armenian people which lived in Russian territory, they had to concentrate their labours upon the Armenians in Turkey, numbering 144,000, upon whom, therefore, in spite of their wide dispersion, they have been able to leave a deep impression. Perhaps the plainest proof of this is that the Roman propaganda, which formerly had quite neglected education, began to establish rival schools in order to counteract the influence exercised by the Protestants.[1]

And the Armenians themselves became incited by the Americans to make fuller provision for education in a way quite new in the history of the people. They established primary and secondary schools for boys, and even began to pay attention to female education. It seemed as if a new spring time had come to the people. But upon this promising development there burst out a devastating storm which threatened to destroy all the splendour of the new awakening and even to make an end of the Armenians as a nation—the fearful massacres of the years 1894–1896.

3. The Armenian Massacres, 1894–1896

(*a*) *The Armenian Question.*[2] The status of the Zimmies throughout Turkey is, generally speaking, bad, and that of the Armenians is particularly deplorable. We have already seen that they are almost everywhere a minority in the provinces which they inhabit. They form the bulk of the population only in certain small sections of their original home and in a district of Cilicia about Zeitun. Their chief curse is the

[1] There is in Sivas a Roman Catholic college, a rival of the American Anatolia College in Marsovan, and another college in Mesereh as a rival of the Euphrates College in Kharput.

[2] James Bryce, "Transcaucasia," 4th ed., 1896. Hepworth, "Through Armenia."

Kurds. From time immemorial, as witness Xenophon's "Anabasis," these savage bandits have infected the wild mountain wastes of Eastern Turkey, being subject to no authority, and every man's hand being against his fellow; terrible neighbours for a quiet, unarmed, agricultural population such as the Armenians were in their home country. Only the mailed fist of a strong government could have compelled the rebellious Kurdish sheikhs to leave their peaceable neighbours unmolested. The Ottoman Porte had not even the desire to do so, since the Kurds are, at least nominally, Muhammadans, and the Armenians "Christian dogs." As early as 1855 the English general, Sir Fenwick Williams, who, from personal observations during the Crimean War, had become aware of the danger threatening the Armenians, stated in a Blue Book report, that the Armenian provinces were subjected to systematic and abominable oppression in all matters of daily life, that the Turkish government was an organized tyranny, the like of which was not to be seen elsewhere in the world, and that no words could fitly describe the infamous character and behaviour of the Turkish police ("Turkey," Vol. XVII, 1877, No. 6, p. 3).

A new age seemed to be dawning for Armenia when, in the Peace of San Stephano on the 3d of March, 1878, Turkey solemnly pledged herself to Russia to introduce radical reforms, making a similar promise to the Concert of the great European Powers at the subsequent Berlin Congress in the summer of the same year. The sixty-first section of the Acts of the Congress required of the Porte that it should without delay carry out such reforms as were demanded by the circumstances existing in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and as would be sufficient to protect the latter against the Circassians and Kurds. The Porte was to report from time to time to the six signatory powers, which took upon themselves the duty of seeing that the reforms were carried out. England, in addition, received from the Sultan at the Cyprus Convention on the 4th of June, 1878, a promise that he would introduce such reforms as the two powers might agree to be neces-

sary for the protection of the Christians and other subjects of the Porte in Armenia. These clear and promising provisions appeared to the Armenians to assure them relief from oppression. But cruel disappointment was in store for them.

There are few chapters of European history which present so deplorable a picture of hopeless confusion and repeated failure, as the story of the many and weary negotiations between the cabinets of Europe and the Porte concerning Armenian reforms. Of what nature should the reforms be? Did Europe wish to found a semi-autonomous principality in Greater Armenia similar to those in Samos and Crete, or a Pashalik with a Christian pasha at its head as in the Lebanon since 1862? Either plan would be difficult on account of the strong Muhammadan population in the provinces. Nor did Russia at all wish to have near her Caucasian boundary a national Armenian state which might bar her advance into Asia Minor, and which would be certain to fill the million of Armenians in Russia with a strong desire to be attached to the independent Armenia. Yet no one could suggest any other program of reform.

The Sultan alone knew that he had determined to nullify every reform which might be suggested. Abdul Hamid II had been on the throne since 1876, a man of great energy and a fanatical Moslem. The demands of the powers appeared to him unreasonable, and he knew that all good Moslems would be of the same opinion. Should the Zimmies, then, be put on social equality with the Muhammadans and even perhaps be set over them as their magistrates? As subjects under the lash of the Moslems the Zimmies might be tolerated, for they were after all the best taxpayers in Turkey. But to grant them equal rights was contrary to the holy law. This must at all costs be prevented. Any attempt on their part to gain equality was in itself rebellion. An incautious Turkish minister was but saying what he thought when he cynically remarked that the best way to get rid of the Armenian question was to get rid of the Armenians. And this was the plan Abdul Hamid adopted. Such characteristically Muhammadan

logic was the more welcome to the Turks since they were aware of the fact that the Armenians excelled both Turks and Kurds in all industrial pursuits and especially in commerce and the trades, for on such undertakings the Armenians had concentrated their great mental powers. Consequently they had become prosperous, while the Turks had become impoverished. The Armenians were the owners of the caravans, while the Turks were their drivers and stable boys. Armenians had acquired possession of the finest houses and the most valuable estates. All this was opposed to the Muhammadan conception of the position of a subject nation. Is it, then, to be wondered at that, jealous as they were, and unable to compete in a fair way with the diligent, talented and capable Armenians, the Turks resorted to the sword, to "get rid of" the latter in cold blood?

Unfortunately some of the Armenians provided an excuse for the barbarous treatment to which they were subjected. It is generally admitted that, both in town and country, they had ever been as a nation quiet subjects without any thought of rebellion, though sorely oppressed. Rebellion would be folly, for it could but bring on them sure ruin. They had no experience in politics, and the only weapons they were permitted to carry were daggers and swords and primitive matchlocks. Could they with these meet the rifles and cannon of newest pattern possessed by the Turkish soldiers? Furthermore Abdul Hamid had in 1891 raised a light irregular troop of cavalry, the "Hamidiye" regiments, from among the wild Kurds, who were robbers by trade and ever ready to swoop down upon the Christians. Yet, in spite of the obvious folly of rebellion, Armenian emigrants in various countries of Europe and America had been forming secret societies for the purpose of remedying the miserable condition of their homeland. It has never become known how these "Hunchiagists" or "Hunkachists" were organized, what their objects were in particular, nor what their plan of operations. Now and then traces of them are met with in Consular Reports. Unfortunately their very existence and work lent a shadow of justice

to the Porte in dealing harshly with the peaceable and defenseless Armenians. The government caused a rumour to spread throughout Europe and Turkey that a rebellion among the Armenians was imminent. Thus the poor people, already in the clutches of Turkey, came to lose the sympathy of Christian Europe as well. It was no doubt, also, due to this panic about a rebellion that the wild rage of the Turks and Kurds burst into flame. Only in rare cases did the Turkish authorities have common sense enough at once to seize and imprison the few Armenian agitators. In reality it pleased them better to make the existence of such agitation an excuse for a general massacre. And it is true that some of the Armenian communities received the revolutionists with open arms, and permitted themselves to be worked up into an excited state, in which they committed reprehensible acts, thus damaging the national cause. Bitlis and Van were especially dangerous lurking places of the rebels.[1]

(*b*) *The Massacres.*[2] In the wild mountain district of Sassun, south of Mush, trouble had arisen between the Armenians and the Kurds, and the former had declared to the governor that they could not pay their taxes, if the Kurds robbed them of all they possessed. This the governor regarded as rebellion and in August, 1894, he advanced against the peaceable peasants with a large force of regulars, Hamidiye, and other Kurds. The peasants were slaughtered or dispersed, and their villages plundered and burnt. According to the statement of the British consul, 900 Armenians lost their lives.

[1] After his escape to America, Fia Bey, who during the whole time of the massacres was the unscrupulous instrument of the Sultan and of Fehim Pasha, the infamous head of the palace spies, cynically exposed the secret machinery of that bloodshed to reporters and interviewers. A treacherous clique around the Sultan arranged the Armenian demonstrations in Constantinople and afterwards convinced the Sultan that most dangerous plots were being laid, and that his throne and life were endangered by the Armenian revolutionists. "So Abdul Hamid ordered the massacres, not knowing that his own officials had organized the revolutionary demonstrations" (*Sonnenaufgang*, Vol. XI, p. 171).

[2] Dr. Joh. Lepsius, "Armenien und Europa," 1896. "Les Massacres d'Armenie." *Documents Diplomatiques; Affaires Armeniennes*, Paris, 1897. J. Rendel Harris, "Letters from Armenia," 1897.

The first massacre caused a great sensation. England brought renewed pressure to bear upon the Sultan to cause him to carry out the reforms he had promised, and on the 11th of May, 1895, laid a complete scheme of reforms before the Porte, to the effect that an equal number of Christian and of Muhammadan officials should be appointed for the government of the Armenian provinces, with a joint Board at their head. The Sultan now saw that the affair was becoming serious. Yet at the same time he rejoiced to observe that there was no unanimity among the European Powers, and that therefore no effective interference could at once take place. He therefore determined to adopt radical measures to reduce the number of Armenians to such an extent as to render any reforms superfluous.

From September 30th until December 29th, massacre followed massacre in quick succession, in Constantinople on September 30th, in Akhissar on October 3d, in Trebizond on the 8th, in Erzingyan on the 21st, in Baiburt on the 25th, in Bitlis on the 27th, in Erzerum on the 30th, in Arabkir from the 1st to the 5th of November, in Diarbekr on November 1st, in Malatia from the 4th to the 9th, in Kharput on the 10th, in Sivas on the 12th, in Amasiah, Marsovan and Aintab on the 15th, in Marash on the 18th, in Kaisarieh on the 30th, in Urfu, twice, on October 26th and on the 28th and 29th of December. Other isolated massacres followed in 1896, in Van on June 26th, and in Constantinople from the 26th to the 28th of August.

The slaughter of Armenians was a joy to the Turks. A massacre was heralded by the blowing of trumpets and concluded by a procession. Accompanied by the prayers of the mollahs or the muezzins, who from the minarets implored the blessing of Allah, the slaughter was accomplished in admirable order according to a well arranged plan. The crowd, supplied with arms by the authorities, joined most amicably with the soldiers and the Kurdish Hamidiye on these festive occasions. Every one was in a good humour. The Turkish women stimulated their heroes by raising the guttural shriek

of their war cry, the Zilghit, and deafened the hopeless despair of their victims by singing their nuptial songs. A kind of wild, cannibal humour seized the crowd. Here an officer shouted, "Down with the Armenians, it is the Sultan's will;" there a Wali exhorted them, "Look alive! cease not to kill and plunder and pray for the Sultan." Why should they cease to pray, or abstain from the slaughter? Were they not promised a reward for their pious actions? And were not the stores of the Armenian merchants and their dwelling-houses full of treasures? Were they not sure, also, not to be punished? Nay, had not a paternal government made arrangements for its faithful subjects to enable them to murder at their own sweet will, without any danger to themselves, so that in fact it was as safe as slaughtering sheep?

The savage crew did not even spare the children. Of what use was this brood, whose parents were either dead or had fled? To save a year-old baby from an orphan's woes the Muhammadans of a village near Marash threw it into the fire! In Baiburt they burned suckling babes with their mothers in fourteen houses. Ohannes Avakian, a rich man of Trebizond, offered the attacking party all his wealth if they would but spare him and his family. He was holding his three-year-old son in his arms. The brutes, knowing that they were sure of his wealth, killed the boy first in order to get at the old man. Both were murdered before the eyes of the wife and the other children. In Erzerum the crowd enjoyed itself killing a man's sons on the corpse of their father, whom it had slain by chopping off piece after piece of his body and pouring vinegar into the wounds.

In Diarbekr the Kurds surrounded the great stone church of the Jacobites in which crowds of fugitives had taken shelter, shot into it and broke open the roof, throwing in fuel and burning torches until they succeeded in bursting the doors open. With yells of joy from the populace those within the church were hunted out into the open to be met by a storm of bullets. Pastor Yinyis Khathershian, who had come from Egypt to visit his relatives, being recognized as a clergy-

man, was thrown down and beaten with cudgels till he was well-nigh insensible. One of the sacred books lying about was stuffed into his mouth and he was mockingly requested to preach a sermon. Then burning torches were thrown upon him, and when the acute pain roused him from his state of insensibility and he tried to creep away, he was seized and thrown into the flames.

Shops and houses, villages and fields belonging to Armenians were plundered with a thoroughness which left nothing behind. Not a rag of cloth, nor a pot nor a plate remained. Even the doors and windows were wrenched off and carried away. What was not worth taking was broken to pieces and destroyed. "We have been robbed of everything," says one report; "they have not left us a rag wherewith to wipe away our tears."

That the local and provincial authorities had a share in these horrors is beyond question. Sometimes they led the soldiers and the mob in person, more frequently they simply looked on. In very rare cases, as at Mush, they forbade the massacres and were obeyed. The only doubtful question is what share of blame attaches to Abdul Hamid himself, and, as the official correspondence between the local authorities and the Porte was secret, this question can never be definitely answered. It is certain that the authorities as well as the people were convinced that the Sultan approved of the massacres, or even that he had given special orders. It is also certain that some of the most abominable evil-doers were rewarded with orders and promotions. Eradication of Christianity was an essential part of the Sultan's policy, and the massacres may well have been his reply to England's attempt to press reforms on him. Even a statesman like Gladstone did not hesitate openly to call the Sultan "the Great Assassin," who had exhausted every method of well-planned and thoroughly executed cruelty in Armenia. (Open letter to the Duke of Westminster.) Taking everything into consideration, it is hardly probable that the Sultan, as Hepworth suggests, had known nothing of most of the massacres

beforehand, and that he had been purposely supplied with false information (Hepworth, "Through Armenia," pp. 169ff.).

According to carefully prepared statistics, 88,243 Armenians, of whom about 10,000 were Protestants, were murdered, and more than 500,000 robbed of all they possessed; 2,493 villages and towns were plundered; 568 churches, of which fifty were Protestant, were pillaged and destroyed, and 282 others were turned into mosques. It was characteristic that in many places the victims were offered the choice between death and Muhammadanism. It was only necessary to repeat the Muhammadan Khalima (La illah, etc.), with the knife already at their throats, or to lift a finger as a sign of assent, and they were spared. They thus became the brethren of their enemies, and, if possible, the new bond was sealed by the marriage of a convert with a Muhammadan. The massacres were not due to a question of race but to one of religion. Christianity was the enemy. Who shall blame them, if, harassed and threatened with death, no fewer than 646 villages and even fifty-five priests joined Islam? It is true that terrible pangs of conscience followed such apostasy when the danger was past. Apostasy from Islam is punished with death, and in their fanatical fury Muhammadans did not waver for a moment in executing the "holy law." Only in a few villages were the British consuls able to procure for Christians, thus converted by force to Islam, liberty to return to their Church.[1]

The heroism of the Armenians, both Gregorians and Protestants, was admirable. "Death rather than deny our faith" was their motto. Many died as Christian martyrs. Twenty-five Protestant ministers and 175 Gregorian priests were massacred, often after unspeakable tortures. The names of the murdered members of the churches have to a great extent remained unrecorded; but they are written in the Book of Life. They will receive their reward from the hand of Him

[1] The most characteristic case in point was, perhaps, that of Biredjik on the Euphrates, where the entire Christian congregation of about 1,000 souls adopted Islam in the hour of danger, but through British intervention were permitted to reëmbrace Christianity.

who said, "Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father, who is in heaven." It will strengthen our faith to read the record of some of these witnesses, whose names, or the peculiar circumstances of whose sufferings, we know.

The Protestant minister of Sivas, the Rev. Garabed Khalujian, and his wife had laboured there for many years. On the 12th of November he preached with great power on the text: "Not a hair of your head shall perish." Two days later at midday, a mob of raging Muhammadans rushed in, plundering and massacring. The minister and some of his flock took refuge in an upper story of the house, the door of which they locked, and fell on their knees to pray. Towards evening a second crowd of Muhammadans appeared for the express purpose of murdering them all. The minister approached them calmly, so that they were taken aback and offered him life and freedom if he would but deny his faith. His mind reverted to his ailing wife and his four unprotected daughters, and his heart beat hard. Yet he said: "I not only believe in Jesus Christ for my own part, but have all my life striven to bring others to faith in Him." The reply came: "Then you must die." The martyr raised his hands towards heaven and fell pierced with two bullets. He was buried next day with 800 other victims in the yard of the old Armenian church.

When Sassun was attacked in the summer of 1894, some sixty young married women were locked up in a church and then handed over to the will of the soldiers. After that most of them were massacred. The most attractive of them were kept alive for a while and were promised safety if they would abjure their faith. "Why should we deny our Lord?" they asked, pointing at the same time to the corpses of their murdered husbands and brothers. "We are no better than they. Kill us too."

Of another Armenian woman it is told that, being pursued along with several other women by Muhammadans, she took refuge on a cliff that overhung a deep precipice. Turning to

her companions, she cried, "Sisters, you have now to decide. Either you let yourselves fall into the hands of the Turks and are unfaithful to your husbands, or you follow my example." Having said this, she leaped into the abyss with her twelve months' old baby in her arms. One after another the others followed her example.

In the prison at Lemal near Bitlis, Azo, a pious Armenian, was subjected by Turkish officials to fearful torture, to compel him to swear a false oath which meant certain death to some of the best men of the village. He was bound with his arms stretched out as if for crucifixion. His teeth were smashed in by the soldiers, his moustache torn out, his body branded with red-hot irons. Yet the pious man remained firm. "I cannot stain my soul with the blood of innocent men. I am a Christian," he cried in the midst of the horrible torture. At length death came to his relief.

In the monastery at Tadem the aged Archimandrite, Ohannes Papizian, when he refused to adopt Muhammadanism, had first his hands cut off, then his arms at the elbows. As he still remained firm, he was beheaded. In Biredjik an old man who refused to renounce his faith was thrown on to the ground. Live coals were heaped on to his body and as he lay writhing in agony, a Bible was thrust into his face by his tormentors, who mockingly told him to read them some of the promises on which he relied.

Once a Turk asked an Armenian, "Will you turn Muhammadan?" The reply was a confession of Christ. At once the Turk cut out a piece of the Christian's arm with a knife and threw it to the dogs. "Will you turn Muhammadan now?" The tortured man refused firmly. The monster cut a large piece out of the other arm, throwing that also to the dogs. Still the Armenian remained true to his faith.

A certain Hagop Pattian of Marsovan, who had won the respect and affection of Christians and Muhammadans alike by his self-sacrificing services during an epidemic of cholera, found no pity. As the axe was about to fall upon his head he said, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they

do," and, "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit."

In Itshan a number of Armenians, who with their aged minister at their head had taken refuge in a church, were dragged out one by one, and asked separately which they loved more, their lives or their faith. Fifty-two of them preferred to die rather than deny their Lord. One by one they were shot or hewn to pieces with the sword. The old Armenian church was turned into a mosque and the Protestant church into a stable.

In Urfa a mother had to see her two sons attacked by a savage band and given the choice between Islam and death. She appealed to them rather to die than to deny their Lord.

(*c*) *After the Massacres.* The sufferings of the Armenians everywhere, but especially in the districts of Greater Armenia, were beyond description. Villages were set on fire, houses were pillaged and destroyed, even the clothes were torn off the bodies of the victims. Particularly the rich and influential, the priests and merchants, the heads of families and leaders of the people were massacred. It was thought that there would not be much difficulty in dealing with the women, after the men had been put out of the way. The result was that, after the massacres, there remained probably 100,000 widows and orphans. As they had been robbed of all, even of provisions for the winter and of their cattle, very many families were threatened with death from famine and cold. The persecutions had been most violent in the last quarter of the year, just when the winter was beginning, and though Armenia lies far south, its bleak table-lands and high mountains are extremely cold and subject to long and heavy snowfalls.

The distress that followed was beyond description. We can only listen to what eye-witnesses tell about a few villages, and even here the misery that they saw is too fearful to record in full.

"How very near to starvation the poor people came may be gathered from the condition of a village called Korpey,

which I visited to-day. There were one hundred and fifty houses in it, of which only about fifteen are left standing. All the rest have been almost entirely destroyed. There are only bare walls where a beautiful village once stood. The people are in rags. There are beds in only twelve of the houses. The people are sleeping on the floor all winter without any bedclothes. The trees have their tops lopped off, leaving only the stems. You find no sheep nor cattle, and only two dogs there. Neither grain nor any other victual are in the houses. In some there may be a little bread, but the chief food consists of grass, which lies in little bundles on the floor. The faces of the women and children is pinched and sallow. I asked a little fellow whether he had eaten any bread that day: 'No, only some grass.' Others had pieces of bread only the size of my hand. While we were sitting on the ground surrounded by most of the village people, some of the children were continually pulling up grass and eating it, roots and all. As far as I could judge, only a few days stood between them and death by starvation."

"On my passing through a village lately, all the inhabitants came out into the street, crying, 'We are hungry, hungry, hungry!' I am still haunted by this cry. Their fields are laid waste, their houses are in ruins and there is no hand stretched out to help them. What is to be the end of it all?"

"This morning some villagers came from Terjan, the centre of a group of villages, asking for help. Their very appearance was their strongest appeal to our pity. They had walked for eighteen hours over two snow-covered ranges of hills. One of the men, who had once been able to accommodate eighteen or twenty visitors at once in his house, was in rags that would hardly have clad him sufficiently in summer. Another man of gigantic stature had had his arms crippled by the swords of the soldiers. The villagers who had sent this deputation were in want of everything that the human being needs; neither mattress nor bedclothes had been left them, and all through the winter months they had slept on straw and hay. This was the way they managed at night: first straw was

thrown on the ground, then all lay down on it as closely packed as possible except one, who covered them over with hay, creeping under it himself at last as best he could. Some of these villages had been pillaged by the Kurds off and on for forty days."

"After the massacre in Malatiye all the Armenians who were left had fled from their burning homes to save their lives, taking with them nothing but the poor clothes that they were wearing. Of all the 2,000 plundered families, representing 8,000 souls, only fifty are living and these in the deepest despair. Delicate women whose husbands and grown-up sons have been massacred, and whose houses have been burned down, have been robbed of everything and now live in huts or damp cellars. The once rich are now in rags and have no food. Many of them have to go a-begging from door to door or stand in the market-places clamouring for alms. There, sitting in their shops, the men, who have made them widows and robbed them of all their possessions, may throw them a handful of copper coins while they mock them for trying to pick up some scraps like the dogs."

"A short time ago I was visiting in Gurun, and found the condition of the people indescribable. Once a charming and flourishing place, it is now, as far as the eye can reach, a blackened waste, a picture of utter misery. The shattered walls of from fifteen to sixteen hundred houses that once nestled in well-kept orchards, are the only memorials left of departed happiness and wealth. Going from one ruin to another I heard only the piercing cry of woe from the lips of women who had lost their all. The surviving inhabitants were confined as in pens, sometimes packed together in one room, which was all that was left of a once respectable dwelling. The miserable people were clad in rags fastened round their waists with ropes, and hardly covering their nakedness. Mothers implored me to help them get their captive daughters back. A more heartrending scene than that which I beheld it would be difficult to imagine."

The knowledge of all this misery made the appeal for help

to Christians the world over irresistible. *England* had ere this shown much sympathy with the Armenians, and it was remembered that in 1878 she had solemnly undertaken the duty of protecting this unfortunate people. Now she was doubly bound to act the part of the Good Samaritan. In addition to the Anglo-American Association which had been led since 1876 by the ex-Cabinet Minister, James Bryce, in a vain attempt to secure political protection for the Armenians, the Duke of Westminster, the church historian J. Rendel Harris, Lady Somerset and other prominent members of society formed now an association, called the "Friends of Armenia," to organize the relief work.

In *France* there had been little official sympathy with Armenia, in spite of the fact that for a long time this country had assumed the right of protecting Roman missions in the East and their congregations; but now the glowing words of Père Charmetant roused great enthusiasm for the work of relief. In *Germany* the leading statesmen, bound as they were by their pro-Turkish policy, could not be persuaded to interfere. But the Rev. Dr. Lepsius succeeded in rousing the feelings of Christians in all parts of the country, and in infusing new enthusiasm for the work of Christian charity into societies that were working in the Near East. Such societies were the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Homes, the Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem and the Jerusalem Union. Even in *Russia* pity and charity asserted themselves, though chiefly among the Russian Armenians in Transcaucasia. The Czar ordered a general collection which brought in 50,000 roubles. The greatest zeal was displayed in the *United States*. Here Christian circles had, since the beginning of the century, been deeply interested in the missions in Armenia. From all these sources there was collected by the autumn of 1897 a relief fund of £300,000.

Every kind of help was needed. First of all the most destitute sufferers must be helped through the winter. True, the Turkish officials gave intermittent aid after the massacres, sometimes, however, with stipulations that were dishonouring

to women. Even such aid used to cease after two or three weeks, and thereafter they did but put obstacles in the way of others who wished to help. It was fortunate that the American Board stations were distributed over the whole of the area affected, for they served as centres for the relief work. Even from such strategically situated stations as Van, Bitlis and Mush it was extremely difficult to get access to the most desolated and needy districts, accessible during the hungry winter months only by snow-covered passes and almost impassable mountain gorges. The absence of suitable roads, combined with heavy snow-storms, rendered it often quite impossible to convey grain and other provisions to the desolate villages.

The next thing to be done was to provide the destitute with the means of earning a livelihood. There were men who, besides having been robbed of their goods, had had their eyes bored out, or their arms hewn off, in order to make them incapable of supporting themselves. In still greater numbers widows and orphans were wandering from house to house, poor as beggars, and unable to earn anything. Urfa particularly became a centre of the industries established to meet the emergency. Miss Corinna Shattuck, an American missionary, established an extensive weaving industry and opened a large room for needlework. Dr. Lepsius' society began and fully equipped a carpet-making business on a large scale.

Above all there were thousands of orphans to be gathered together, fed and educated. Orphanages opened their doors wide for the reception of crowds of Armenian orphans in the whole of Turkey from the Russian boundary to Persia, Bulgaria and Palestine. The Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Homes in Syria and Palestine took 200, and the Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem 100. New orphanages were founded in great numbers. In this work the German societies particularly excelled. Rev. J. Lohmann's Armenian Aid Society received 1,357 orphans from all parts into their numerous orphanages. Dr. Lepsius' German Aid Association for Armenia founded in Urfa, Khoi and Urmia orphanages for 650 children. Professor

Godet, who presided over the Swiss Aid Association, received 500 orphans, 300 of them in his large institutions in and near Sivas. Nor were the English and Americans behindhand in this work. Towards the end of 1898 there were about 6,000 Armenian children being cared for in Protestant orphanages.

All this meant difficult work. First of all the children, who had been reduced to a sad state by famine, cold, and neglect, must be patiently nursed back into physical robustness and mental and moral health. The arrangements to be made for their education must also be free from any proselytizing tendency which would estrange them from their Gregorian Mother-Church, for the Armenian Church authorities were jealous and fearful lest an improper advantage should be taken of the miserable condition of the people. On the other hand the Protestant foster-parents could not and would not neglect to train the children committed to their care in the knowledge of Bible truth. Another important problem was how to open ways for all these thousands of poor orphans to earn an honest livelihood in after life. Everywhere great stress was laid on teaching trades, such as carpentry, masonry and farming. Workshops were attached to many orphanages. In some cases extensive farms were combined with them.

At first it was thought that about ten years of this difficult and expensive work would suffice. But as the plundering and the ill treatment of Armenians continued, especially in the eastern mountain districts of Erzerum, Bitlis, Van, and Mush, it has been found necessary not only to keep the old orphanages open, but even to found new ones. Nevertheless in 1907 the number of orphans in Protestant orphanages had been reduced to about 1,000.

In addition to this, every possible endeavour had to be put forth, as far as the limited means allowed, to give the ruined people a new start in life. Hundreds of wrecked houses were rebuilt, cattle and oxen were lent or given, seed-corn was supplied, farming implements, tradesmen's tools and supplies for shops were provided. The need was manifold, but manifold also were the methods of relief.

A decade has passed since that time of horror, and we are in a position to judge whether the Turks have succeeded in their attempt to annihilate the Armenian nation. We are able to declare that, thanks to the abundant help of Christian people and the astonishing vitality of the Armenians themselves, the Turks have failed. It is true that the Turks and Kurds still tyrannize over and attempt to crush the Armenians, especially in their original home in the eastern portion of Asia Minor, where massacres on a small scale are reported almost every month, and the condition of the villagers is desperate. But on the whole the Armenians have recovered in a marvellously short time from what then appeared to be a fatal blow. Untold numbers bear the scars of those fearful years upon their bodies and countenances. Yet could we but be assured that there will be no recurrence of general massacres, we might safely assert that they will recover from the after effects of that terrible blow. Dare we harbour such a hope?

The European Powers have unfortunately shown that they are not willing to put themselves to any further inconvenience in behalf of the Armenians. Unable to settle the matter by their interminable diplomatic negotiations, they have left the poor people to their fate. Will Turkey now pursue her policy of extermination? For the time being she is somewhat taken aback by the merciless plainness of the reports of consuls and philanthropists concerning the horrors of her cruel misdeeds. The wide-spread publicity which has branded her with shame has touched a sore spot. Thus, even when diplomacy fails, the publicity in which every part of the world to-day lives, is to some extent a source of safety for the oppressed. Hence the rancour of the Turkish officials against the well-informed American missionaries whom they try to banish, and their intrigues against all Europeans engaged in the works of mercy. Yet they have not succeeded in preventing Americans, Englishmen and Germans from settling down in the most remote valleys, whence they send at once into the whole of the civilized world reports of every massacre that occurs. How

far will this protection reach? It is, unfortunately, not to be hoped that any change has taken place in Abdul Hamid's policy. And in the ever-increasing Kurdish Hamidiye regiments sharper weapons are being forged for the destruction of the Armenian race. It seems to be a fundamental conviction of the Porte that the Armenians are a serious danger to Turkey at her weakest point, namely, that part of the Asiatic territory which lies near the Russian border. They are a danger both on account of their unwarlike character, on account of their kinship with the Armenians in Russian Transcaucasia, and on account of their religious ties with the Russians. Against Turkey's formidable foe, Russia, a defense must be provided by employing the warlike Kurds, even as Russia on her part employs the Cossacks for a like purpose. To win favour with the Kurds and to arm them, to render the Armenians powerless or even to exterminate them—this seems to be the terrible policy of the Porte.

This section was written before the 24th of July, 1908, when the Turkish constitution was granted. The change of policy which then occurred will naturally affect the situation of the Armenians deeply. The new era in Turkey we shall discuss in section seven of this chapter.

4. Russian Armenia

It is to be deplored that for the other half of the Armenians, who live in Russian territory, the outlook has become more and more gloomy during the last twenty-five years (cf. *Sonnenaufgang*, 1896, pp. 139, 156, 169, 187). For the seventy-five years following Russia's annexation of Transcaucasia in 1800, the Armenian Church had trustfully accepted Russian protection. Armenians had entered the Russian army, supplying it with several distinguished generals, among whom may be mentioned Loris Melikoff, Lassareff, and Per. Gankasoff, and had proved themselves to be thoroughly loyal subjects in the midst of the restless and unreliable elements of Transcaucasia. Thus protected they made great progress in com-

merce and learning, their schools were flourishing, their trade grew by leaps and bounds.

But in 1880, under the dreadful influence of the mighty Pobedonoszeff, a determined policy of Russianizing subject peoples was inaugurated, in the hope of strengthening Holy Russia by the suppression of all foreign languages and civilizations. Just as this short-sighted policy of unification has wrought untold mischief in the German provinces on the Baltic Sea, in Finland and in Poland, it has also caused confusion in Transcaucasia. Prince Dondukoff struck the first blow in 1885 by abruptly closing 500 Armenian schools, thus depriving 30,000 children of education. A further step was taken when the order went forth that all school property should be turned over to the government. This demand, however, met with determined passive resistance. The Armenians went to the law courts in the case of every school, and their legal rights were mostly so plain that the courts could not but decide in their favour. Then it was ordered that even the name "Armenia" was to be blotted out. Armenia had no longer the right of national existence.

Armenian newspapers were suppressed. Armenians who ventured to send support to their unfortunate kinsmen in Turkey were declared rebels and were banished.

The final blow fell on the 12th of June, 1903. The government commanded the Armenian Church to deliver up its entire property to the Russian State. This command fell like a bomb into a barrel of gunpowder. Not a single church nor monastery would deliver up its property. Doors, chests and locks had to be burst open. Is it to be wondered at that, when the Armenians saw sacrilegious hands laid on their sanctuary, the Church, they flew to arms in her defense? Bloodshed soon followed. In a short time the whole of Russian Armenia was in rebellion. It was then that Russia committed an unpardonable act.

We have seen how, after the Berlin Congress of 1878, the Armenians in Turkey hoped in some measure for the establishment of a principality in Armenia, which should be wholly or

partially autonomous. The Russian Armenians naturally sympathized with this idea. Such sympathy the Russian government regarded as treason and rebellion. The Armenians must be taught a severe lesson. The wild hordes of Tartars in Cis- and Transcaucasia should be their teachers. Like the Kurds in Turkey, the Tartars fell upon the Armenians in Russia. In their first attack, which took place in Baku, they murdered two hundred Armenians, men, women and children; in Shusha they threatened ruin to the strong Armenian colony and cut off its supplies. But the Armenians defended themselves and even attacked some Tartar villages. The rebellion which burst forth in every part of Russia after the unsuccessful war with Japan helped to fan the flame in Transcaucasia. There was hopeless confusion. Order was restored but slowly. In August, 1906, the government repealed the foolish law of confiscation and restored to the Armenian churches such property as had already been seized. But it is not easy to regain the confidence of the Armenians, once so fearfully betrayed.

5. The Work of the American Board from 1896–1907[1]

The massacres dealt to the Board's mission a blow which seemed for a time likely to prove fatal. Nearly all the stations in Eastern Turkey had suffered heavily. The costly college buildings in Aintab had been plundered and burned. Hundreds of churches and schools in town and country had been destroyed, the congregations scattered, and the pastors and teachers either killed or crippled. It was as if a destructive hail-storm had passed over a field of ripe grain. To repair the damage and to reorganize the work was a gigantic task, rendered the more difficult by the enmity and suspicion of the Turkish government, which placed every possible obstacle in the way of the mission. No firman could be secured granting permission to rebuild the ruined houses or even to execute the most necessary repairs. The members of the congregations were not allowed to go to church nor send their children to

[1] "Missions of the American Board in Asiatic Turkey." Office of the Board, 1904.

school. Happily the American government was at the back of the Board and extended its powerful protection to its unjustly distrusted subjects. After weary and interminable negotiations, which lasted five years, the Turkish government was induced to pay nearly T £20,000 in compensation for the schools destroyed in Aintab and Kharput, and to issue the requisite firmans for their reconstruction. American energy was now displayed in restoring the mission, so that by 1900 all traces of the disaster were wiped out in most of the stations, and the work was again well under way. The education of thousands of orphans has been one of the main undertakings during the last decade, the Board having borne the chief burden of establishing orphanages. During the time of greatest distress it had over 3,000 children under its care. Orphanages were opened in all the stations, the largest being in Kharput, Aintab, Urfa, and Van. In these orphanages no effort was made unduly to influence the children to become Protestants. They were permitted to attend the Gregorian services, being even conducted thither. The Gregorian bishops were permitted to appoint priests to call on the children belonging to their Church, and to strengthen their attachment to it. It is worthy of note that, if one may judge from the fact that the number of the members of the Protestant Churches, which was but temporarily and to a slight degree affected by the massacre of 1895, has since that time shown no striking increase, a large majority of the 6,000 orphans, trained in Protestant orphanages, must have returned to their old Church.

Two branches of the work came more and more to the fore. *Higher education*[1] is conducted with admirable energy. The Armenian people, deprived of the means of existence by the tyranny of the Turks, have thronged to the schools, till these are full to overflowing. From year to year it becomes more difficult to meet the applications for admission. It is characteristic of these schools that education for girls is on almost

[1] "The Higher Educational Institutions of the American Board." "Sivas Normal School." (Two very interesting booklets.)

as high a level as that for young men. We give a list of the colleges.

The Robert College in Bebek near Constantinople is an independent institution for *Western Turkey*. Then there is the Anatolia College in Marsovan. In April, 1903, the institution founded in Smyrna in 1891 was incorporated as "The International College." In Scutari, near Constantinople, there is a college for girls of well-to-do families.[1]

In *Central Turkey* the principal institutions are wisely divided between Aintab and Marash; in the former is the Central Turkey College for boys, in the latter the college for girls. The St. Paul's College for young men in Tarsus in Cilicia, founded in 1888 by the liberality of Col. W. Shepard of New York, passed in 1904 into the hands of the Board, and a similar institution for girls is planned in Adana, the capital of that province.

In *Eastern Turkey* the higher schools for the two sexes are united in Kharput. Here the Euphrates College with more than 1,100 students is a complex of primary schools, secondary schools and colleges for both sexes, and of institutions for ministers and female teachers.

In addition there are in Asia no fewer than forty-one boarding- and high-schools, some for boys, some for girls, not to mention 312 primary and village schools, attended by 16,191 boys and girls. The Board teaches altogether 20,861 children.

The other branch of missionary work to which peculiar attention has been given is the *Medical Mission*. Gradually all the chief stations in Turkey are being provided with medical missionaries and hospitals. The older hospitals are those in Aintab, Cæsarea, Mardin and Van. Latterly others have been added, in Constantinople (Dr. Codrington's hospital with a nurses' training institution), Marsovan, Sivas, and Kharput. An Armenian now living in America has provided the funds for building a mission hospital in Diarbekr. The mission

[1] Since the site on the other side of the Bosphorus did not suit the purposes of the college, it is to be removed this year or next to the European side, to Arnoutkoyi, a southern suburb of Stamboul.

plans to build hospitals in Erzerum and Adana, where doctors have already for some time been stationed. In addition, Dr. Lepsius' German Mission in Urfa and Diarbekr, and the Lohmann Society in Marash and Mesereh, have their doctors and hospitals. The growth of the medical work has been due partly to the great amount of sickness prevailing amongst a people destitute of all medical attention, and partly to the hope that this practical evidence of Christian philanthropy may touch the hearts of the Turks. In the vilayet of Sivas, where there is a population of 750,000, there are only about fifteen doctors with diplomas, and all of these live in the towns, so that country people have to travel for many hours, sometimes for days, in order to see a doctor, if even then they can afford to pay the very high fees. Thus there is an almost boundless field for the beneficent labours of medical missionaries. They have formed the "Asia Minor Medical Missionary Association" among themselves for mutual consultation. They met for their first conference in 1907.

The relations of the mission to the Gregorian Church are subject to much fluctuation. There are those who place the Armenian religion on much the same level as the heathenism of India and wrongly conclude that "these people are in as great need of the Gospel as the fetish worshippers of Africa or the savages of the South Sea Islands." The repeated declarations that members of the old Church can become "Christians" only by adopting Protestantism are, at the very least, open to criticism. And the prevalent feeling among the missionaries is that there must be no proselytizing. The great task is as far as possible to rouse to new spiritual life the dead Church. Accordingly, if the mission can but win the confidence of the members of that Church, if it can but gain an open ear for its Gospel message, it is no cause of grief that the number of accessions to the Protestant Church is decreasing. There are, happily, proofs that the confidence of the ancient Church is being increasingly won. In Urfa, some years after the massacres, the Gregorians and Protestants united in educational work. Missionaries and other Prot-

estant ministers are frequently requested to preach in Gregorian churches. In the neighbourhood of Van and Bitlis, where the distress was particularly severe, and most effectual and self-sacrificing help was afforded, there appears to be a growing feeling of mutual confidence between the two Churches. In Van the Protestants even seriously considered whether they should not return in a body to the Gregorian Church. The majority were, however, opposed to such a step (Annual Report of the Board, 1907, p. 80), the time for such a reunion being, in their opinion, not yet come.

Even in places where the Gregorian clergy stand aloof, because they are concerned about their loss of influence, there are Protestant tendencies at work. Thus the Gregorians exert themselves assiduously to raise the status of their schools. This may be attributed to the desire to keep the Gregorian pupils out of the Protestant schools by making their own schools equal to, or even better than, those of the mission. Yet, though the missionaries may be right in thinking that the Armenian schools would soon be closed were it not for the competition of the Protestant institutions, the fact remains that there is real vitality in them. There are other vestiges of this new life in the Gregorian Church. In Aintab the Gregorians have begun Bible classes on Sunday, and these classes, which meet in the Protestant school, are attended by 1,000 people of the old faith. The Armenian emigrants in North America subscribe liberally to the work of the Board with full confidence. One of them, Aslan Sahagian, made a donation of £15,000 to a fund for extending the educational system, another bequeathed a sum of money to build a hospital in Diarbekr, others again subscribed the salary of an American professor in the Euphrates College at Kharput, paid for a gymnasium in that college and built a school for girls in Arabkir.

So the mission is in a position of growing influence and strength. Unhappily the prospects of the Armenian nation are dark and gloomy. In the Eastern provinces, in the vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Diarbekr and Erzerum the conditions are well-

nigh desperate. Robbery and even open murder are of such common occurrence that they are hardly noticed. In remote villages the Armenians have no security of life or property. Ruthless taxation, aggravated by the extortion of the tax-gatherers, is the last straw. This provokes rebellion, the chief centre of which is in Van. The revolutionaries are gaining more and more recruits. It is no wonder, then, that all who can, emigrate. The peasants flee in crowds across the boundary into Russia, at the risk of their lives. Tradesmen of all kinds resort to the various seaports of Asia Minor. People who have been educated in the American schools like to emigrate to the United States. This is a great drawback for the mission. From a single college forty-four theological students went thither, only four of them returning home for lasting service in Armenia. In some districts it is no longer possible to supply the schools with teachers nor the pulpits with ministers. Generally speaking, it is the strong who emigrate, leaving the weak old men and children in all the greater distress, women being compelled to struggle with the stony fields to produce food. The increasingly impoverished congregations can no longer raise the salaries for teachers and ministers. Thus the process of self-support is arrested. All this is further complicated by the fact that the Board finds it extremely difficult to obtain sufficient means for its fast extending work.

According to the statistics of 1908 there are in connection with the American Board twenty stations and 269 out-stations, forty-two ordained missionaries, twelve medical missionaries, and sixty-eight lady missionaries, ninety-two ordained, and 102 lay preachers, and 728 teachers. There are 130 fully organized congregations, with 15,748 communicants and 41,802 adherents; eight colleges, forty-one boarding and high schools, 312 elementary and village schools, with altogether 20,861 pupils. In nearly all these items there is a falling off as compared with 1907, and there again as compared with 1906.

The *Swiss Aid Association* was from the beginning so intimately connected with the Board that its work is really a part

of the Board's mission. The two German societies have maintained their independence in a greater degree. The Lohmann Society, still active in orphanage work, has, with increasing interest, taken part with the Board in evangelistic work. In addition to its hospitals in Marash and Mesereh (Kharput), it has taken over in the latter districts, and in the neighbourhood of Van, a part of the congregations and schools of the Board. The Lepsius Society, following the original plans of its founder, was transformed on the 11th of May, 1900, into the German Orient Mission. It has medical missionaries and hospitals in Urfa and Diarbekr, also a missionary in Souchbulak, a town in Northwestern Persia. The latter is to learn the language of the Kurds and to do literary work, including the translating of the New Testament, in order to be able to begin full missionary work among the Muhammadan Kurds. The society has obtained the service of Johannes Awetaranian, a remarkable convert from Islam.

Johannes Awetaranian (v. "*Joh. Awetaranian, Geschichte eines Mohammedaners, der Christ wurde,*" Berlin, 1905), originally called, while still a Muhammadan, Muhammad Shukri, was born on the 30th of June, 1861, in Eastern Turkey, of fanatical Muhammadan parents, and was brought up in all the observances of the strictest Islam by his father, a dervish of the Bektashi order. The reading of the Gospels wrought faith in him. He fled into Transcaucasia, and, after many disappointments, was baptized in Tiflis. By the help of Christian friends he received a good education in a mission house in Stockholm, after which he returned to Transcaucasia as a preacher. But he soon entered the service of the Swedish Evangelical National Society as a missionary to the Muhammadans in Kashgar in Turkestan, where he spent five years in translating the New Testament into the classic Kashgar Turkish spoken there. His translation is now being printed. Returning to Europe he joined the German Orient Mission, becoming by his writings a zealous pioneer of the Muhammadan Mission in Bulgaria.

We will here enumerate some smaller missions hitherto left

unmentioned. In 1844 a society called "*The German Evangelical Benevolent Society*" ("*evangelisch-deutscher Wohltätigkeitsverein*") was formed in Stamboul, at the recommendation of the chaplain of the Prussian embassy, the Rev. Mr. Major. In 1852 three *Kaiserswerth deaconesses* entered its service. When the sisters removed, in 1877, into the hospital built by the German government, their work increased. The number of deaconesses is, at present, seventeen. This hospital is open to people of every nationality; it has about 1,500 in-patients a year. In 1853 the deaconesses, at the urgent request of well-to-do Protestants there, opened in Smyrna a higher girls' boarding-school. The boarding department, however, had to be given up in 1891, owing to the keen competition of the Greek Church and the Jesuits, the institution becoming merely a day-school. An orphanage in connection with it, originally intended for Levantine girls, did excellent work after the Armenian massacres, admitting 120 Armenian orphan girls.

The *Friends* adopted a small medical mission, begun by Miss Burgess in 1881 for the Armenian population in Constantinople, two lady missionaries with two native assistants being secured. Connected with it are an orphanage, a day-school, and a needlework industry, to provide work for 250 poor Armenian women. A Miss West also opened, in 1880, a Christian refuge and coffee-room.

The American *Disciples of Christ* (Campbellites) began in 1879 a mission in Constantinople, which the American Board justly regarded as an intrusion into its own sphere. It was in the following years extended to many stations in Asia Minor and Northern Syria, the centres being Sivas (1882), Marsovan and Tokat (1883), Aintab, Marash, Albistan, Haleb and Antioch. But there were never many Americans in the mission and it has since been given up.

In connection with a vigorous Protestant propaganda promoted by Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem in 1863, the Armenian Bishop Megerdich, of Aintab, joined the Anglican Church. He succeeded in attracting a good many members to his congregation, partly from the Gregorians and partly from the

strong and influential Protestant church of his town. This naturally caused some ill feeling. With the help of subscriptions from England a church building on a grand scale was begun, but was never finished. The Anglican congregation still exists, but has never become very influential. An Armenian who had left the Board, the Rev. H. Jenanyan, after having enjoyed a theological training in America, founded in 1888 a free mission in Cilicia, which was by principle independent of foreign management, though, unhappily, not of American money. It gradually adopted three stations, Tarsus (1888), Konia and Marash (1889). In these stations it maintains schools for boys and girls, and orphanages.

Mesopotamia has been somewhat neglected by the Protestant Mission, being rather inaccessible and the conditions there being unfavourable. This ancient cradle of human culture proves to-day, by the desolation of its plains and the general insecurity of life within its borders, the helplessness of the Turkish administration. Its three centres are Mosul, Bagdad and Basra, towns wrapped in the glamour of fairy tale.

We have already told (p. 116f.) how, between the years 1841 and 1860, *Mosul* was repeatedly occupied by the American Board to serve as a centre for work among the Mountain Syrians. After their final retirement, Protestant missions were not represented for thirty years in these headquarters of the Roman propaganda. In 1892 the American Presbyterians, who, in the meantime, had taken over the Nestorian Mission in Persia from the American Board, decided to reoccupy Mosul. But in spite of repeated attempts they did not succeed in coming into close touch with the independent Syrians of the wild mountains, on account of the intervening plain and hills where the Roman propaganda was in full force. They therefore handed over their station in 1900 to the Church Missionary Society, which was planning to establish a second station in "Turkish Arabia," in addition to their first station, Bagdad. The chief work of the Church Missionary Society here was the medical mission, for which a

hospital was opened. In addition they undertook educational work, in which, however, they were much hampered by the Turkish authorities. The success of the mission was so small that, in 1907, the home committee of the society, failing to obtain sufficient financial support, seriously thought of abandoning the station. But it now became evident what real appreciation of the work existed among the suspicious and stolid Muhammadans, for an urgent and appreciative petition was sent to the London office. The work is accordingly to be continued for the present.

In *Bagdad* in 1834, Antony Groves, a rich English dentist, together with several friends, began a mission among the Muhammadans, but did not long persevere in the work. Fifty years later the Church Missionary Society missionary, Dr. Bruce, at that time in Persia, drew attention to Bagdad and the holy places of the Persian Shiites, such as Nejef and Kerbela, and showed how effective preparatory work could be done for the isolated Persian Mission, if the numerous Persian pilgrims were provided with the Bible. The Church Missionary Society thereupon occupied Bagdad in 1882. But the pilgrims proved unapproachable and even hostile, so that the missionaries stationed in Bagdad turned to the native Turko-Arabian population, endeavouring to win their confidence by affording medical aid. The medical missionary Dr. H. M. Sutton was stationed there in 1886. But it is stony ground, and the prospect of a harvest is still small.

6. *Protestant Missions Among the Greeks, the Bulgarians, and the Turks*

a) *Missions among the Greeks.* We have already mentioned the work of the Church Missionary Society in Malta and Syra (p. 94ff.). In the years 1821 to 1829 occurred the romantic War of Independence by which Greece freed herself from Turkey. This unequal struggle was keenly watched by Europe and America, the victors being warmly applauded. It seemed as if the period of the Persian wars of olden times

had returned. It was hoped that the new Greece with all the freshness and vigour of youth would promote a regeneration of the East. To bring the Gospel to this virile nation appeared to be an undertaking full of promise for the Muhammadan East. Bright dreams were indulged in. Consequently much zealous work was undertaken by various Christian agencies. The American Board, which had occupied Smyrna in 1820, removed its headquarters, as did the Church Missionary Society in 1822, to Malta, which seemed to be the most strategic starting-point for the work on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Other stations were soon added, Athens in 1830, Argos and Cyprus in 1834, Scios in 1835, Ariopolis, near the ancient Sparta, in 1837. Other societies also appeared on the field. About 1830 Dr. Hill and Dr. Richardson came to Athens as representatives of the Episcopal Church of America, having been strictly enjoined, however, not to found a separate Protestant congregation. The American Baptists followed in 1836. But all these hopes were doomed to disappointment. The official Church of Greece would have nothing to do with the missions. No school could be opened without the permission of the government. No missionary could even be engaged as a private tutor in a family without official permission. The sale of books was subject to a very strict censorship.[1] In the schools the only religious book which might be used was the "orthodox" catechism, with its emphasis on the veneration of images and similar superstitious customs. The missionaries met with opposition everywhere. Even when they conducted their Sunday services in their own private houses, the ecclesiastical authorities often watched the houses so that no Greek could be present. Even where the ecclesiastical authorities were not so jealous and intolerant it became evident that the Greek nation was not ready to welcome the Gospel. The Orthodox

[1] The ecclesiastical authorities are so suspicious that the sale of the New Testament in modern Greek is forbidden throughout the Kingdom of Greece, which is thus the only country in the world in which the reading of the Bible in the mother-tongue is a criminal act!

Greeks are so intoxicated with pride both in their national history and in their ecclesiastical tradition, that they have no taste for the Gospel as offered to them by American sects. Did *they* need to be taught by upstart Americans, they, in whose language Peter, Paul, and John had written (though a Greek of to-day can hardly understand the Greek of the New Testament), they, the Church of Athanasius, Chrysostom and John of Damascus ?

This dislike of Protestantism was so great as to cause one society after the other to leave Greece. The American Board abandoned its stations, merely leaving the missionary, J. King, in Athens until his death in 1889. The American Episcopalians likewise abandoned theirs, when the able educationalist, Dr. Hill, died in 1882. The American Baptists left in 1856, returning in 1871, only to depart again in 1887. From 1875 to 1891 the Southern Presbyterians made an attempt, only to be disappointed too. At the present day there are but a few native Methodist and Baptist preachers at work, the best known among them being the Methodist pastor Kalopothakes, now in his eighty-seventh year. There are small Protestant congregations in Athens, Piræus, Patras, Larissa and Jannina.

More effective was the work which the missionaries of the American Board carried on among the Greeks in connection with their labours among the Armenians along the western and northern coasts of Asia Minor, and in connection with their labours among the Bulgarians. Here, in addition to their main undertaking, they extended a hearty welcome to such Greeks as showed a willingness to come and learn, the schools especially proving to be a great attraction. The result was that Greek-Protestant congregations were formed in Turkey, in Demirji in Bithynia (1855), and, later, in Smyrna, Ordu, Constantinople, Salonica and other places. The Board has never again organized an exclusively Greek work.

In 1907 a conference was held in Constantinople, attended by representatives of Protestant Greek congregations, who met to devise means for forming a union between the widely

separated and diverse congregations. Four Protestant conference districts were formed, with Athens, Constantinople, Smyrna and Ordu (near Trebizond) as centres.

The Greek Church, while jealously shutting itself against the influences of American Methodism or Congregationalism, has shown itself more ready than the other ancient Churches to respond to the renovating power of a new spiritual life working from within. Thus there were several revivals within the Church in the nineteenth century, partly of a sectarian character. Associations for the preaching of the Gospel have been formed in some places by laymen, the oldest and best known of which, the Eusebeia, was founded in Smyrna, in 1893, by Greeks who had received education and a stimulus to a more vigorous spiritual life in the schools of the American Board. This association has already 2,000 members, and possesses a fund of over £1,500. Similar associations have been founded in Constantinople, Patras, Athens and Leucosia in Cyprus.

(*b*) *Missions among the Bulgarians.* The attention of the friends of Protestant missions, like that of the world at large, was drawn to Bulgaria with its religiously and politically progressive people, at the time when the Bulgarian nation, numbering some four millions, rose in revolt against the tyrannous Greek hierarchy and the Turkish despotism. Bulgaria first succeeded in winning ecclesiastical autonomy, founding a Bulgarian exarchate, and then gained political independence, being recognized as an autonomous principality in consequence of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 and the subsequent Berlin Congress in 1878.

The American Board, feeling unable to undertake the work single-handed, invited the coöperation of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, which, at that time (1851), was seriously considering a new mission on the Balkan Peninsula. An agreement was made whereby the Methodists were to occupy the greater part of Bulgaria proper between the Balkan Mountains and the lower Danube and the American Board the vast region south and west of the mountains. In 1857

each society founded its first station, the Board occupying Philippopolis, and the Methodists Shumla.

Both of these missions underwent a similar development, and suffered, alas, similar disappointments. In the troublous times before 1870 great hopes were entertained that, desiring to be freed from the Greek hierarchy without falling into the hands of Rome, a large and influential portion of the Bulgarians would adopt Protestantism. This hope was quenched when, with Russia's help, the Bulgarian exarchate was established in 1880, all hitherto Greek bishoprics being filled by Bulgarians. Then, during the disturbances of 1870–1878, which resulted in the shaking off of the Turkish yoke that had been borne for 500 years, hope revived that real entrance to the people might be gained. This hope proved vain also. Finally, the hard-won constitution of 1878, which granted religious liberty, seemed to prepare at last a highway for Protestant missions. But the Exarch, uneasy about his own influence, managed to induce the government to adopt measures to prevent the growth of Protestantism, and, whenever a door seemed to be opening to Protestant influences, Russia, with her strong anti-Protestant instincts, was always at hand to bar it again. During the last decade the hindrances have been aggravated by what is otherwise a pleasing fact, namely, the remarkable advance made by the Bulgarians in national education. The result of this was that the American schools, which had been the leading schools in Bulgaria, were thrust into the shade.

The mission of the American Methodist Episcopal Church has always been conducted on a small scale owing to lack of funds (v. Reid–Gracey, "Methodist Episcopal Missions," Vol. III, pp. 200–272). Generally there have been but two missionaries at any one time, and for years only one missionary of this Church, in Bulgaria. Short spurts of increased activity have alternated with long and serious deliberations as to whether the work should not be altogether abandoned. In the course of time three centres of work secured a comparatively firm footing, a secondary school for boys at Sistova

(serving as a training-school for a native ministry, closed unhappily in 1906); an advanced girls' school at Loftcha (administered by some lady workers of the Women's Board); and a printing-press in Rustchuk. The great opposition, the lack of a fixed mission policy, and the want of funds have combined to make the result small. There are 432 members of the Methodist churches, including nineteen on trial; nineteen primary schools, ten churches and chapels, and, altogether, 1,000 adherents. Neither the masses nor the leaders in church and state appear to be much influenced.

With more far-sighted deliberation the American Board extended its work not only in the independent Bulgarian territories of Eastern Rumelia (Philippopolis in 1858) and Bulgaria (Samokow and Sofia in 1867), but also among the numerous Bulgarians who were languishing under Turkish rule in Macedonia (Salonica became a station of the Board in 1894), and in Albania (Monastir in 1873), everywhere, according to the wide scheme of its work, reaching out to the members of other Eastern Churches, especially Greeks and Armenians. In Macedonia, Thrace and Albania the Board's work was seriously crippled by the restless strivings of the unruly peoples there for independence. The Bulgarians hoped for annexation to the autonomous Principality of Bulgaria, the Greeks wished for incorporation in the Kingdom of Greece, the Albanians were trying to found an independent state, and the Servians were keen to enlarge their kingdom. All were of one accord in the ardent desire to shake off the despotic rule of Turkey, but, at the same time, they were in a deplorable degree fanatical and ruthless antagonists of one another. And all were little more than pawns in the great international chess-play of the Oriental question, moved about by the great powers at their will. It was a chaos of revolution and intrigues, rendered the more confused by the increasing number of bandits. An American missionary, Rev. W. W. Merriam, was murdered by the bandits on the 3d of July, 1862. Miss Ellen Stone was kept a prisoner from the 3d of September, 1901, till the 25th of February, 1902, and was set free only on

the payment of a ransom of T £15,000. The American Board has the credit of having provided a wholesome Protestant literature in the modern Bulgarian tongue. The translation of the Bible by Dr. Elias Riggs in 1891 has been referred to already. The same diligent author also prepared, amongst other books, a Bulgarian commentary of the New Testament. The Methodist missionary, Rev. Dr. Long, who was for many years a professor at the Robert College in Bebek, also engaged in this literary work. There was a printing-press, first in Constantinople, then, for a time, after Bulgaria became independent, in Philippopolis and now in Samokow. The chief paper is the *Zornitza* (Morning Star), published at first in Constantinople and later in Philippopolis. It is a monthly Protestant magazine in the Bulgarian tongue, with a circulation of 1,300; but its existence is at present threatened by want of funds. The educational work of the Board has had its centre since 1872 in the "Collegiate and Theological Institute" in Samokow, which was formerly a pattern for the Bulgarian educational system, but has now been equalled or even excelled by the government schools. Though the American school finds it so difficult to compete with the national colleges, which are amply subsidized and privileged by the Ministry of Public Instruction, yet the Board maintains its institution, because it seems indispensable for the building up of a strong native ministry and teaching staff, and as a counterpoise against the spirit of infidelity and irreligion prevailing in the public schools. The numerical results of the Board's work are but moderate. In addition to 1,408 communicants there are 3,954 adherents, *i. e.*, a total of 5,362 Bulgarians and Greeks in the European Turkey Mission.

Without connection with the Board, a Bulgarian Evangelical Society is working in Sofia. Another mission was maintained by the Southern Presbyterians in Salonica from 1874 to 1892, but has been abandoned. At the urgent request of the Albanians the Board has recently decided to found a station for them in Koritza. There are also some out-stations in Servia (*e. g.*, Prishtina) and in Bosnia (*e. g.*, Mitrovitza). The

Turkish government, however, is so little favourable to such attempts to raise the subject races, that the censor has for six years withheld permission to publish a translation of the four Gospels, ready for publication, because the Albanians are not to have a national literature.

(*c*) *Missions among the Turks.* The question will be asked, Has, then, no work been done by the Board among the *Muhammadans* of Turkey? Reserve is necessary in giving an answer. The Board is very chary of information on this point, knowing that the Turkish officials scan its reports with suspicion. Mere hints that interest has been awakened among Turks or the slightest allusions to Muhammadan converts would put Turkish detectives on the track, and lead to a breaking off of any disposition on the part of a Turk to approach the mission, or even to the ruin of a convert. Yet the silence of the Board is not due merely to wise reticence; the missionaries, owing to the thoroughly hostile position of the Porte, have, as a rule, abstained from trying to influence the Muhammadan population. They know that any such attempts would arouse the wrath of the government, and perhaps lead to their being banished. This would not benefit the Muhammadans, and it would put an end to the work of the mission among the ancient Churches. A single piece of work among the Muhammadans may be recorded here.

In 1843 an Armenian and a Greek, who had been induced, while intoxicated, to turn Muhammadans, and had subsequently reverted to Christianity, were beheaded in Constantinople. Lord Stratford Canning de Redcliffe, the British ambassador, used this notorious fact as a ground for remonstrating strongly with the Porte, and forced the proclamation of an edict that henceforth in Turkey no one should be "persecuted on account of his religious views." The Porte promised that no "Christian renegade" might thereafter be condemned to death. The wording was, unfortunately, dubious. "Christian renegade" might denote merely one born a Christian, who had temporarily become a Muhammadan. Accord-

ingly two Muhammadans who had become Christians were actually punished with death in Aleppo and Adrianople respectively, in the years 1852 and 1853. Britain again stepped in and demanded an assurance that such a crime should not occur again.

As it was the time of the Crimean War (1853–1856), the government was very dependent on the good-will of Britain and France, which alone stood between the Porte and ruin. The Sultan was therefore willing to comply with the demands of his two allies and issued on the 18th of February, 1856, the famous hatti humayoun with his autograph affixed, granting full religious liberty throughout the whole of Turkey. Christians were to have equal rights with Muhammadans and to be eligible for all offices of state.

"Every distinction or designation tending to make any class whatever of the subjects . . . inferior to another class, on account of their religion, language or race, shall be forever effaced from the administrative protocol. . . . As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in my dominions, no subject of my empire shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall be in any way annoyed on this account.[1] The nomination and choice of all functionaries and other employees of my empire, being wholly dependent upon my sovereign will, all the subjects of my empire, without distinction of nationality, shall be admissible to public employments, and

[1] The clause originally inserted about converts ran thus: "As all forms of religion are and shall be freely exercised in the Ottoman dominions, no subject of His Majesty the Sultan shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion he professes, nor shall be in any way disquieted on that account, and no one shall be compelled to change his religion." Obviously this clause left an opening for the persecution of a man who had voluntarily changed his religion. The Porte pleaded that the Sultan had no power to alter the law of the Koran, which punishes a "renegade" with death. Lord Stratford, however, refused to sign the decree unless he had in his hands a solemn declaration of the Grand Vizier, to the effect that freedom must apply to all renegades,—renegades from Islam to Christianity and vice versa. The "divine" law of the Koran was not altered, but the Porte engaged not to carry it out. The powers had to be satisfied with this concession.

qualified to fill them according to their capacity and merit. . . . All commercial, correctional and criminal suits between Mussulman and Christian or other non-Mussulman subjects, or between Christians or other non-Mussulmans of different sects, shall be referred to mixed tribunals. The proceedings of these tribunals shall be public. . . . The testimony of witnesses shall be received, without distinction, upon an oath taken according to the religious law of each sect. . . . Penal, correctional, and commercial laws, and rules of procedure for the mixed tribunals, shall be drawn up as soon as possible, and formed into a code. Translations of them shall be published in all the languages current in the empire." (See the full text of the hatti humayoun in "Forty Years in Turkey," pp. 486 ff.) This decree seemed to open the way for extensive work among the Muhammadans of Turkey. At once more missionaries were added to the Board's staff. Other societies, too, began work. In 1858 the Church Missionary Society sent to Constantinople the ablest of their Muhammadan missionaries, Rev. Gottlieb Pfander, D. D., already known to us by his labours in Transcaucasia. He was accompanied by Rev. Dr. Koelle, formerly a missionary in West Africa. Both these men were to commence a mission to the Muhammadans in Constantinople. Two other men were sent as assistants,—a younger English missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and one from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The British and Foreign Bible Society opened new depots and shops, thus extending its work considerably.

In the first few years hopes were of the brightest. Many Turks showed receptivity towards the doctrines of Christianity. Public discourses of the missionaries on religious subjects were well attended. Many came to the houses of the English and American missionaries and had interesting conversations with them for hours together. Conversions and baptisms followed. The baptism of Selim Effendi created a great sensation; he took the name of Williams. Other prominent converts were the former Muhammadan priest, Abdi Effendi, and Mahmud Effendi. Fifteen or twenty Turks may

have been baptized. In the summer of 1864 ten adults were confirmed at one time. This gave rise to foolish and exaggerated reports, such as the report that 25,000, or even 400,000 Turks had been converted to Protestantism.

But a storm was brewing, of which the Protestant Mission was wholly unconscious. The suspicions of the Sultan and of hostile reactionaries were excited in two ways. A strong party was planning to separate from Islam and to form a religious community of their own. Its members are even said to have sent a petition to the Sultan asking him to place one of the mosques in the city at their disposal for religious services. The leaders of this party had no connection whatever with the missionaries, who nevertheless fell under suspicion. The other thing which disturbed the Sultan was that Dr. Pfander was busy forging spiritual weapons for the mission, in the form of apologetic and polemic tracts. He had just finished a Turkish translation of his "Mizan ul Haqq," and had put it through the press. Now, if the few Persian copies, which had before come into the hands of Turks, had caused such a stir, it was to be expected that the Turkish translation of the work would be far more disturbing. Violent counter-publications against Pfander and his work were issued with the assistance of the government. Being thus attacked, Pfander openly replied.

The storm burst suddenly and destructively. Ten or thirteen Protestant Turks in Constantinople were seized without previous warning on the 17th of July, 1864, and thrown into prison. The next day, the offices of the British and American Bible Societies as well as the assembly halls of the mission were closed by the police, and the books confiscated. Even the missionaries were forcibly driven out of their houses.

It is true that by the intervention of the British ambassador, backed by his government, most of the prisoners were released or were treated less harshly in prison, and the Bible-depots and the confiscated Bibles, though not Pfander's books, were restored to the missionaries. Nevertheless the subsequent official correspondence led merely to the declaration that a

government can grant toleration only in so far as the genius of the people permits. That, further, though the hatti humayoun was intended to grant religious liberty to all, yet it did not sanction either public attacks on any of the existing religious bodies nor deliberate proselytizing. That it was the right and duty of the Porte as the guardian of the public peace to prevent such things, and, if necessary, to suppress them by force. The Bible might be distributed like the Koran, but it must not be hawked about in the streets (colportage). The missionaries must exercise patience and give expression to their opinions only with due regard for the opinions of others. Open propagandism was forbidden. The fact is that there was no longer a vigorous Lord Stratford Canning representing Britain. In his place was Sir Henry Bulwer, a weak man, who did not conceal his disapproval of "renting places for religious addresses, nor of hiring men to go among the Turks in order to read to them books which try to prove that the Koran and its Prophet are full of errors and absurdities." With a man of such principles in power, the Protestant Mission was indeed delivered over into the hands of the fanatic reactionaries.

The mission has never recovered from the effects of this blow. Dr. Pfander died in Richmond, London, on the 1st of December, 1865, and, soon after, the three most faithful Turkish agents, Mahmud Effendi of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Selim Effendi Williams and Abdi Effendi of the Church Missionary Society also passed away. Dr. Koelle remained in the service of the Church Missionary Society until 1877, and, after retiring from active service, lived quietly in Stamboul, trying to win his neighbours, but with only small success. Only thrice did he experience the joy of baptizing converted Muhammadans. "Proselyting efforts," he wrote in 1875, "offend both the religious and the political susceptibilities of the Mussulmans. . . . An European missionary could not visit in Muhammadan houses without rousing suspicion. No church for the public Christian service of Turks would have any chance of being authorized by the govern-

ment. No missionary school for Muhammadan youths would be tolerated" (Stock, "History," Vol. III, p. 114). Under such circumstances mission work was an impossibility. The Church Missionary Society abandoned its station in Constantinople in 1877, and has never since reopened it.

An event which occurred in connection with this mission in 1879 caused a great commotion in Europe. Dr. Koelle was secretly translating the Book of Common Prayer into Turkish, with the help of Ahmed Tewfik, one of the respected Turkish ulema. Suddenly both were thrown into prison by the police. A naval demonstration, accompanied by a stern ultimatum from the English Premier Lord Beaconsfield, was required to effect the alteration of the sentence of death on Ahmed Tewfik to banishment to Scio. Tewfik escaped later to London, where his baptism in 1881 caused a great sensation. But he did not turn out well; in fact he seems later to have returned to Islam.

Forty years elapsed before another deliberate attempt was made to begin a mission among the Turks in Turkey. Dr. Lepsius' "German Orient Mission" began work in Turkey and Persia in 1900. The plan of the mission is to make Khoi in Persia, Diarbekr and Urfa in Asiatic Turkey, and Philippopolis in European Turkey, centres from which to carry on work among Muhammadans. Urfa and Diarbekr are to be centres of medical work. Khoi, with its industrial work, is to serve as the starting-point of a mission among the Moslem Kurds. In Philippopolis, where a printing-press has been set up, literary work is to be the chief form of activity. But all this is still in the initial stage.

7. The New Era in Turkey

Up to the 24th of July, 1908, there seemed to be no prospect of any great change in the situation of Protestant missions in Turkey as we have described it. Mission work was hindered on every hand by the unremitting opposition of the government and its officials. No new school could be opened, no new book printed, without a petty strife against malevo-

lent magistrates, or narrow-minded censors. Every forward step had to be made against decided resistance. Progress was necessarily slow.

Suddenly, without warning, a peaceful revolution took place. At about one o'clock on that 24th of July the telegraph spread through the length and breadth of Turkey the unexpected news that the Sultan had granted, "at the desire of the people and by his own decree," a liberal constitution with a very large measure of freedom. Freedom of speech and of the press, religious freedom, and freedom of travel were guaranteed. The whole system of spies was abolished. A Parliament with a chamber of commons and a senate should direct the affairs of the country.

Even now, months later, it is not clear what were the causes of this radical change in the politics of Sultan Abdul Hamid. Certain it is that he was sorely pressed by England and Russia with regard to the Macedonian reforms, and that he was, with all his famous subtlety, at his wits' ends to baffle again, as so many times before, the impatient powers. Equally certain is it that the energetic "Young Turkey" party had quietly won an enormous influence, especially in the army, and that the Second and Third Army Corps were ready to march against the Sultan, if he persisted in refusing liberal reforms. It is also certain at last that not even the Sultan's most confidential councillors, nor the foreign ambassadors, nor the American missionaries in Constantinople foresaw the event three days in advance. It is said that the Grand Vizier, Ferid Pasha, had just stepped into his carriage to go to the Sublime Porte for a meeting of ministers, when he was told that he and all his colleagues had been deposed, and their whole régime overthrown.

Whatever may have been the secret reasons of the sudden change, it was hailed by the people with the utmost joy, even with loud outbursts of triumphant jubilation. The event was everywhere celebrated by great popular gatherings in city streets, squares, mosques, and churches, with addresses by Muhammadan and Christian speakers. Governors or other

high officials announced the surprising news, the decree of the Sultan was publicly read, the crowd cheered wildly, military bands played the national anthem. Every one delivered speeches denouncing the old régime, and processions paraded through the streets with banners and flags and bands of music. It was like a general paroxysm of the usually so quiet and dignified Mussulmans and Oriental Christians.

When, on September 1st, an Imperial Mission sped from Damascus to Medina formally to open the Hejaz Railway, they saw the stations decorated with banners bearing the motto: "Hurriet, Musaret, Ukhuvvet" (Liberty, Equality, Fraternity). At the ceremonial opening no speech excited more enthusiasm than one by an Egyptian who said, "The Prophet did not permit the railway to reach the holy city before the Khalif granted a constitution to his people."

One very remarkable feature of this general rejoicing was that the gulf between Muhammadans and Christians seemed in a moment to be bridged over, even to be filled up. Everywhere Turkish officials and Armenian ecclesiastics embraced each other, exchanging congratulations and pledging themselves to mutual brotherhood. In Beirut on the open street a venerable sheikh with green turban and flowing robes declared, in a stentorian voice, that all hatred and jealousy against the Christians was now passed, and in the future they were to live as brethren. When people caught sight of a Christian priest and a turbaned Moslem in proximity to each other, they pushed them into each other's arms, and made them kiss one another. In Stamboul, on the 15th of August, there was an imposing peace gathering in the Armenian cemetery, where, in 1896, about 5,000 massacred Armenians had been interred in long trenches. About 10,000 persons, members of the Young Turkey committee, students of the military school, high officers, priests and bishops in their robes, were present, and in sight of the memorials of former hostility and bloodshed everlasting fraternity was proclaimed.

It is not to be expected that all the hopes thus suddenly aroused will be fulfilled. We know too well what it meant

to almost every country in Europe to change from absolutism to a constitutional parliament. The lessons of the French Revolution and of the volcanic year, 1848, are not easily forgotten. And the short career of parliamentary rule in Russia and Persia is too significant to be overlooked. The probability of a reaction is great in Turkey in proportion to the suddenness of the change. The danger is all the more imminent since Austria has taken advantage of the confused situation to assume suzerainty over the long occupied provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Bulgaria has crowned Prince Ferdinand as king, and in the Young Turkey party there is a strong tendency to grant autonomy to Macedonia. Thus there are on every side combustible materials for a general conflagration in the Near East, just at a moment when peace is of the utmost importance for the prestige and success of the new régime.

Yet, though a measure of reaction may follow, it is hardly possible that the Sultan or his successors can entirely reverse what he has done; it is highly probable that there will be some stability in the freedom granted. And that is just what the Protestant missions most sorely need. (1) Freedom of the press. The endless red tape necessary in obtaining permission to publish a tract or a supplement to a periodical; the submission of each manuscript in triplicate to two successive censors, and the necessity of permission to publish, even after permission to print has been given, all this and much more petty tyranny is done away with (*Miss. Rev.*, Vol. 18, p. 745). "Such words as liberty, constitution, Macedonia, patriot, star, which have not appeared for years, may now be used freely."

(2) Freedom of travel. It will be an enormous relief to the missionaries in the large districts, with their widely scattered congregations, that they will no longer be dependent upon the granting of tezkeres by whimsical magistrates. It will greatly facilitate the journeying of students to and from the colleges and so bring many a promising pupil to the benefits of higher education, for whom it was formerly out of the question because of the impossibility of getting a

tezkere or paying the necessary bribes to unscrupulous officials.

(3) Freedom of schools. In the political program of the Young Turkey party education takes a foremost place. "Schools and instruction shall be free. Every citizen has the right to open private schools according to the laws. All schools shall be under government inspection. . . . Religious institutions shall be exempt from these regulations." It is not yet known what the proposed government school system will be like, but it is probable that it will provide ample room for the large educational establishments of the various missions.

How far direct mission work among the Muhammadans will be facilitated by the new order of things, it is not yet possible to say. Certainly there are, among the leaders of the liberal party, broad-minded and cultured men, who really wish full religious liberty, including the right to change one's religion according to the convictions of conscience. Soon after the proclamation of the constitution there appeared in an influential paper of the Young Turkey party a series of articles demanding the translation of the Koran into Turkish, and the removal of the veil and other disabilities of women. But it was followed almost immediately by the following official proclamation: "Since certain papers are publishing articles detrimental to the laws and customs of Islam . . . (articles which) are hurtful to the heart and conscience of the people, and arouse tumult, editors and publishers of such articles shall be sentenced according to the law."

However uncertain the future may be, it is sure that we are at the beginning of a new chapter in the history of Protestant missions in Turkey, and it is very probable that it will be a time of great possibilities, an unheard of "day of opportunity," an open door of approach not only to the Armenians and the other Christian peoples, but also to the Turks and Kurds and other non-Christian nations. May it find the American Board ready to go forward with a fresh consciousness of her responsibility as a bringer of light and life to the Turkish East.

IV

SYRIA AND PALESTINE

(*A*) *Syria*

IN no part of Asia Minor are the racial and religious conditions more complicated than in Syria. The Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, crossing the country from north to south in two parallel chains, form a mountainous region, difficult of access by reason of its rugged and pathless character. As in the Alps and Pyrenees, the Caucasus and the Himalayas, so also in Syria, in out-of-the-way places, all manner of remnants of peoples and Churches are to be found. Of the two million inhabitants (not counting Palestine) about 200,000 belong to the Greek Orthodox Church, being under the Patriarch of Antioch. To the Roman Church belong 320,000 Maronites and 138,000 Melchites, *i. e.*, Arabic-speaking Syrians of the Greek-Melchite Rite. In addition to these there are about 15,000 Jacobites, 10,000 Armenians and 10,000 Protestants—in all about 693,000 Christians.[1] Syria is one of those parts of Turkey in which the Christian population is large, both absolutely and in comparison with the Muhammadan population. The pity is that there is hardly any possibility of united progress, because of the many ecclesiastical and national divisions among

[1] According to the statistics of Dr. William Thomson, which, though made years ago, are of value to-day, Syria had a population of from 1,360,000 to 1,864,000, comprising

Sunnites,	565,000	Maronites	180,000–200,000
Nusairiyeh and Ismailidians	150,000–200,000	Melchites	60,000
		Orthodox Greeks	240,000
Druses	80,000–100,000	Armenians, Jacobites and others	30,000
Metawileh	25,000–30,000		
Total number of Muhammadans (say)	850,000	Total of Christians (say)	520,000
Total number of Jews	30,000		

the Christians. It is worthy of remark that the Roman Church has by far the greatest number of adherents. Among Muhammadans, too, there is the greatest diversity. Whereas outside of Syria you find in Islam only dervish orders or sects of doctrinal or ascetic character, here in Syria there are a number of peculiar religious bodies of a national character with hardly any Muhammadan characteristics. The best known of these bodies, the Druses, numbers about 83,000, half of whom inhabit the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains to the south of the railway from Beirut to Damascus, the other half living in the wild mountainous district of Hauran, whence the name Jebel ed Drus. Probably an aboriginal tribe of the Syrian mountains, they have maintained their racial and religious identity by adhering to their religious mysteries. When the Shiah party spread in Asia Minor under the Abasside Khalifs of Bagdad (750 A. D.), two sects of them were formed, the Imamites and the Ismailites. The Shiahs of both sects hold the belief that Allah has revealed himself at different times in various historical personages, the favourite theory being that of a series of imams appearing regularly in each generation, so that every generation possesses an imam as the exponent of the revelation of Allah. Thus there is a more or less lengthy series of prophets (incarnations of Allah), which culminates in the hero of each particular sect. About the year 780 A. D. a quarrel arose among the Shiahs, who, until that time, had generally acknowledged the descendants of Ali as the only true imams. The question upon which the Shiahs divided was whether Muhammad el Habib, the son of Ismail, was the legitimate imam, or Musa Kasim, who had been nominated by Ismail's father after his son's death. The Ismailites held the former view, the Imamites the latter. As a result of this division, the Imamites reckon eleven imams, the last of whom died about 900 A. D., and will reappear some time as Mahdi; while the Ismailites maintain that there are only seven imams, of whom the last is Muhammad el Habib (780–800 A. D.). In the latter person all the wisdom and knowledge of God culminated. To win the victory for their

view, the Ismailites conducted an active propaganda by means of a special religious order, the Dais, or Missionaries, one of the most active of whom, Abu Abdallah, went to Egypt about 900 A. D., and gained so great an influence that he was able to place Egypt under the dominion of Ubeidallah, a fellow-believer of his, who became the founder of the Fatimide dynasty (909–1171 A. D.). One of his successors was Hakim ba amr Allah (996–1020), one of the most notorious tyrants and shedders of blood that have ever sat upon the throne of the Khalifs. He not only persecuted Christians most savagely, but also committed bloody outrages against his fellow-religionists. He took most arbitrary liberties with the precepts of Islam, forbidding the pilgrimage to Mecca, discontinuing for a time public prayers in the mosques, abrogating the law of the jihad, cursing the memory of the first three legitimate Khalifs, Abu Bekr, Omar and Othman, and abrogating their laws, which form a great portion of the Sunna. There were living at the court of this tyrant, of whom historians are unable to decide whether he was, or was not, insane, three men, Darazi (Muhammad ibn Ismail Darazi), Akhram and Hamza, whose aim it was to procure divine veneration for Hakim, giving out that in him Allah had manifested himself in human form. When Hakim was murdered in 1020, at the instigation of his sister, these three spread the report that he had withdrawn from the earth to test the faith of his adherents, but that he would come again in power and glory to give the kingdom of this world to his faithful followers. This curious form of fanaticism was zealously preached by Hamza among the Lebanon tribe, which received the name Druse from the above-mentioned Darazi. They themselves assume the name of Muwahidin, *i. e.*, Defenders of the Oneness of God. They developed their doctrine into a complicated Gnostic system, decked out with patches of Christianity, and probably containing remnants of the old Syrian heathen nature-worship. (It is asserted that the Druses worskip Hakim in the image of a Golden Calf, which at any rate plays a part in their worship and has not yet been accounted for.) They also believe

in the transmigration of souls and the final judgment. Only a comparatively small number are initiated into these mysteries and are called *aqqal*, *i. e.*, the knowing ones. The mass of the people goes by the name of johha, or the ignorant. And the veil cast over their religion is the harder to lift, because it is enjoined on the Druses as a duty to accommodate themselves in word and action to the religious usages of the countries in which they live. This principle, called taqiyah, *i. e.*, accommodation to Orthodox Islam or to any form of Christianity, or even, if it be convenient, to Judaism, naturally renders mission work among the Druses not only difficult, but also possibly illusory. (The standard work on the religion of the Druses is Silvestre de Sacy—"Exposé sur la Religion des Druses," 2 vols., of which there is a none too clear digest in Sell, "Essays on Islam," pp. 147–184.) The rest of the Muhammadan sects belong more or less to the Shiite family. But whereas the Druses are a branch of the Ismailites, the Nusairiyeh regard themselves as Imamites. They dwell to the north of Tripoli and beyond Latakia, in a part of the mountain chains of Lebanon which is called after them Jebel el Ansariye. The name Nusairiyeh, a diminutive of Nasrani—"Christians"—is deceptive and has probably been given by opponents. They themselves adopt the name of El Chussaibiyeh after their revered teacher, Abu Abdullah el Chussaibi, and trace their descent back to the legitimate imam of the Shiites, Hasan el Askari. They worship Ali as an incarnation of God, and call him figuratively "The Lord of the Bees," who reveals himself in nature (sun and clouds). They have retained many traces of ancient Syrian heathenism in their worship. Their number is variously computed, the highest estimate being 250,000; but there are probably not more than 75,000 of them. Side by side with them, or scattered among them, are the sparse remnants of the Assassines, who made themselves so notorious in the Crusades; they are now usually called simply Ismailites. By this name they are at once to be recognized as belonging to the same group of sects as the Druses. Their founder, Hasan ibn Sabah, took

possession of the mountain stronghold Alamut, near Kasvin in Persia, whence the sect spread into Northern Lebanon, and especially into the region west and north of Hamath. They recognize as their legitimate imam either the Fatimide Khalif of Egypt, or the chief of their own sect. Their religious similarity to the Druses is exhibited in their worship of Ali as divine, in the belief in the incarnation of Allah in the imams, especially in Ali, and in the arbitrary allegorical exegesis of the Koran, in which they prove or disprove any doctrine as they please. They, too, lay great stress on strict secrecy in the matter of doctrine. Fortunately they have discontinued the practice of the former terrible assassinations, as a result of which their oriental nickname, Hashishim (hemp-smokers), was corrupted by Europeans into "Assassines." A similar tribal remnant, numbering about 50,000, are the Metawileh, also a Shiite sect. Here and there among these sects are scattered remnants of the Yezides (devil worshippers), who have their chief seat in the mountains to the east and north of Mosul, as also bands of Gipsies and other fragments of tribes.

1. The Mission of the American Board 1823–1870

The American Board sent its first missionaries to the Near East in 1819, to inaugurate its great scheme of mission work. Of the work among Armenians and Greeks, which was begun eleven years later in Constantinople, we have treated in the last chapter. Here we have to do with the work in Syria. At first it was rather difficult to obtain a suitable centre for the work in the Near East. The Board established a kind of headquarters with a printing-press on the island of Malta, as the Church Missionary Society had done, in order to prepare the necessary literature in the various languages. The two pioneers, Rev. Levi Parsons and Rev. Pliny Fisk, advanced to the east coast of the Mediterranean, yet did not settle in any one place, but travelled on, preaching and distributing literature throughout Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Parsons died in 1822 in Alexandria and Fisk on the 23d of October, 1825. But others were ready to fill their places. As soon as

the news of the death of Parsons became known, a young American student in Paris, Jonas King, offered his services to the Board, at first only for three months; but he was to spend a long life of useful activity in the mission. In October, 1823, two other missionaries with their wives came to Syria, Rev. Wm. Goodell and Rev. Frank Bird, going first to Jerusalem, where, however, conditions seemed to be so unsafe that they preferred to remove to Beirut. This was the beginning of a regular mission in Syria, for Nicolayson and another missionary of the London Jewish Mission, who had settled in Antuf, to the north of Beirut, in 1822, did not long remain.

The streams of intellectual and spiritual life which have flooded Syria for three quarters of a century took their rise in Beirut, where both the Protestant and the Roman missionaries have their headquarters. The first good roads in Syria were built from this centre to Damascus and Tripoli. Beirut was the starting-point of the railway to Damascus, and is the centre of the Syrian telegraphic system. It has the only safe harbour on the Syrian coast, a harbour which is entered day and night by steamers bringing European goods to be exchanged for the products of Syria, especially oranges, silk stuffs, olives and dates. For beauty of situation Beirut is hardly surpassed by the loveliest cities of the world, her white buildings rising in terraces from the dark blue waters of the Mediterranean up to the reddish slopes of the hills which encircle the town and the harbour, alive with great steamers and countless white-sailed boats. Almost on the summit of the peninsula, Ras-Beirut, stands the German Hospital of the Knights of St. John, and, a little higher up, the stately group of buildings forming the Syrian Protestant College. Behind Beirut there rises chain after chain of the imposing Lebanon range of mountains, its lower slopes covered with odorous orange and lemon plantations, higher up its bare crags rising into jagged heights that are covered with dazzling snow. Above this charming picture of tropical richness and Alpine grandeur stretches the deep blue dome of the Southern sky,

in the atmosphere of which the most distant objects appear to be incredibly near.

The first years of the American Mission opened hopefully. Nearly every day there came visitors of the most various creeds, Greeks, Maronites, Melchites, Armenians, Arabs and Turks, to hold converse with the missionaries on religious questions. A bishop of the Armenian Church, Garabed Dionysius, whom the superstitions of his Church had made restive, and Wartabet Jacob, a well-educated Armenian priest, offered their services as teachers of the language and as assistants to the missionaries. Several schools were established in and around Beirut, with an attendance of 700 children. And even 100 girls entered the schools, a thing hitherto unheard of in Syria.

Such was the bright spring time of the mission. Very soon, however, bitter enmity, especially on the part of the Roman Church, was displayed against it. The ecclesiastical authorities of the Maronites, Romanists and Uniate Melchites, awoke to the danger threatening them, and did all in their power to offer resistance. In 1824, not quite twelve months after the Americans had settled in Beirut, the Roman Catholics induced the Sultan to issue a firman forbidding the distribution of the Holy Scriptures in Turkey. It is true that after certain missionaries, who had been arrested while selling Bibles in the streets of Jerusalem, had, through the energetic interference of the British consul, been avenged by the dismissal of the governor of Jerusalem, no Turkish official had a mind to burn his fingers in carrying out the firman. Yet this laxity on the part of the officials inflamed the enmity of the Maronite Patriarch still more. He came down from his mountain monastery to threaten with excommunication any Maronite who might let a house to the missionaries. By bribery he also hoped to gain influence over the Greek Bishop, and over the Muhammadans of higher rank, and so to drive away the Americans. He laid on the Americans the following curse: "We allow no one to receive the Americans; by the word of Almighty God no one shall dare to visit them, to

do them any service or render them help, so that they might be able to remain in these parts. This we forbid most strictly. Every one must avoid meeting them. Whoever dares in his obstinacy to transgress this command, will fall at once and without fail under the great curse of the Church from which I alone can absolve him." Accordingly whoever approached the missionaries was threatened with this curse, and more than once the bolt fell on an innocent head.[1] The death of the first martyr of the Gospel in Syria was due to this Patriarch. Asad es Shidiak, a young Maronite, had, after finishing his education in the Maronite Monastery School, Ain Warka, entered the service of the missionaries in order to earn a livelihood as teacher of Arabic and Syriac. He had as yet no knowledge of Gospel truth, and so little was he inclined in its favour that he spent his spare time in writing against it. But this very work made it necessary for him to examine the Bible carefully. And the Word of God created new life in his receptive heart. Whilst he was studying the prophecies of Isaiah, the light broke in upon him. When the Patriarch heard that he was in communication with the Americans, he summoned him to his monastery and, assisted by his chaplains, endeavoured to dissuade him from adopting the new faith. One dark night Asad fled from the monastery and returned to Beirut, only, however, strengthened in his belief in evangelical truth. There he was received with open arms by the missionaries. Hereupon the Patriarch resorted to cunning in order to get him again into his power. Solemnly promising him safe conduct and holding out flattering offers, he induced him to return to his village, Alma, where he was handed over by his relations to the merciless prince of their Church. He was at once cast into a dark cell. That was in 1836. From

[1] The curse of the Maronite Patriarch in 1829 ran : Because they have received the deceiver, Bird (a missionary), let them be hereby excluded from all Christian society ; let the curse cover them as a garment and sink into their members as an oil and make them wither as the fig-tree which the mouth of the Lord cursed ; the evil spirit shall also take possession of them, torturing them day and night ; no one shall visit or greet them. Avoid them as mortifying limbs and infernal dragons.

that time he was not seen by any of the missionaries. He made several attempts to escape by night, but always fell into the hands of his vigilant keepers, to be taken back to the monastery and cruelly punished. At last he was cast into a dark dungeon, the only exit from which was built up. Six thin slices of bread and a cup of water formed his meagre daily rations. Against filth and foulness he was defenseless. Nevertheless he remained steadfast. It was probably three years later, in October, 1839, that he was released by death from his sufferings. His body was cast into a gorge and covered with stones. He was the first martyr of the Protestant Mission in Syria, an evident proof of what the Roman Church intended to do with Protestants, if she could lay her hands on them.

This experience had the advantage or disadvantage, according to one's point of view, of leaving the Protestant Mission in no doubt as to whether a reformation of these Oriental Churches from within, with the help of their authorities, was possible. If the mission was not to dissolve itself, it was bound to prepare for war with the hierarchy, and to aim at an independent Protestant church organization. The experience of a century has shown that such a step is absolutely necessary in any mission among Oriental Christians.

A great hindrance to the mission were the warlike disturbances, which lasted nearly twenty years (1820–1840), all over the Turkish Orient. The years 1820–1830 were filled with the Greek War of Independence. Beirut became involved, being first besieged by the Greeks and then plundered by the Turkish troops. In 1828–1830 the missionaries had to abandon their work and seek refuge in Malta. Still more of a hindrance were the Egyptian-Turkish troubles, occasioned by Ibrahim Pasha. The Egyptian army conquered and occupied Palestine and Syria as far as Hamath and Aleppo. The Druses, also, who had till then resisted the attacks of the Turks, were subdued in 1835. An Anglo-French fleet blockaded and cannonaded Beirut, and the missionaries were compelled once more to flee, this time to Cyprus. Only after the

intervention of the Western Powers was Ibrahim Pasha forced back into Egypt. The Turkish government was restored in Syria, and quieter times followed. In 1842 and 1845, Syria was once more disturbed by internal strife, in which the Maronites attempted to humiliate the Druses, who were barely one-third of their number; yet each time they were repulsed with great slaughter. These troubles did not contribute to the progress of the mission.[1]

In spite of all these difficulties, the Americans began with the distribution of evangelical tracts and books. In this work they undertook long, trying journeys as far as Aleppo in the north and Nazareth in the south. They soon observed that the Arabic books they possessed were defective and also badly printed. The Board had, indeed, established a printing-press in Malta in 1822, in order to supply its missions in the Near East with new and good literature; but it was found necessary to have Arab compositors working under the supervision of Arabic-speaking missionaries. The Arabic department was, therefore, removed to Beirut in 1834. But even this did not suffice. Since up to that time Arabic had been chiefly written by hand, not printed, and since caligraphy is one of the few arts open to the orthodox Moslem, a refined taste in the matter of the form of Arabic letters has been developed. If the mission wanted its publications to be well received and enjoyed by the Arabs, they would have to provide type that would equal the best handwriting. Dr. Eli Smith, that able missionary, who was an excellent Arabic scholar, collected about one thousand particularly beautiful characters out of the most perfect manuscripts; these he had cast into type by a clever type-founder, working under his guidance. This preparatory work was tedious and expensive; but the result of it was that the productions of the Beirut Mission Press were regarded with different eyes and read with great pleasure.

[1] The printing office in Malta was at that time given up. The greater part of it had been transferred in 1833 to Smyrna, to be taken later to Constantinople, where at the present time the Board has a large printing establishment.

Other missionary work proceeded but slowly. About the year 1834 a beginning was made with the extension of the *educational work*. First in Beirut, then in its neighbourhood, small schools for boys were opened. They were of a rather ill-defined character, hardly more than elementary schools. In 1835 a higher school was opened, called a seminary, for pupils desiring special instruction in English and other subjects, who were able to pay something for board and education. At that time Turkey had no government schools, nor was there any standard for the missionaries to go by. Questions as to the requirements made of the pupils and the objects of the schools were answered rather differently by different missionaries. Some attached chief importance to the grounding of the young men in Biblical knowledge and Gospel truth, while others thought it equally important to give the pupils, entrusted to the mission, a thorough secular education, especially in English, thus fitting them for every-day life. Others again, and their views at that time gave shape to the work, laid stress on the training of assistants of all kinds for mission work, especially as teachers in the schools. The seminary was afterwards removed to Abeih, to the south of Beirut.

In 1835, also, the first *girls' school* of this mission was opened in Beirut, an epoch-making event. In 1894 a monument was erected on the spot where this girls' school, the first of its kind in all Syria, had stood. It was said at that time that there was not a girl in all Syria who could read, and even educated Muhammadans asserted that one might as well try to teach a cat to read as a girl. The missionaries were thus the pioneers of female education. Looking to-day at the hundreds of girls' schools belonging to Muhammadans, Greeks, Maronites and Jews, which cover Syria from Aleppo to Jerusalem, we realize the change that has taken place in public opinion, a result of the example set by the missionaries.

Comparatively soon *medical missionaries* were sent to Beirut, though without the modern equipment of hospitals and dispensaries. The doctors helped wherever help was

needed, and bore a share of the duties of the other missionaries as well.

The missionaries soon found an opportunity for avenging in a noble manner the death of Asad. When, in 1845, the Druses fell upon the Maronites in Deir el Kamr and massacred them, about 200, among whom were some of the bitterest opponents of the Protestants, sought refuge in the houses of the missionaries and their assistants. Dr. William Thomson went boldly into the midst of the tumult and induced both parties to set a safe watch over the crowded Protestant houses. Then, as a palace filled with Maronites was stormed by the Druses, Thomson again succeeded in arranging that the threatened Maronites should be permitted to leave under a white flag. As the terrified Maronites had nothing to eat, the missionaries at once baked bread near Deir el Kamr, with all the flour available there, while they sent by night to Beirut for fresh supplies. Then they sent the Maronites, still trembling for their lives, to a place of safety. That day the Maronite and Greek bishops of Beirut issued proclamations to their people, calling upon them to render protection to members of the American Mission in any similar calamity.

An interesting episode in the years 1835 to 1842 was the friendly approach of the Druses to the mission. We have already mentioned that the Druses had been, in 1835, conquered by the Egyptian Viceroy, Ibrahim Pasha. Until then they had made some pretense of being Moslems, in order thus to safeguard themselves against the oppression and humiliating treatment to which Christians were exposed. Now the tables were turned, for, after their subjugation, they were, as Muhammadans, compelled to send their young men to serve as soldiers. Now it is well known that only Moslems are permitted to enter the army, Christians being excluded. The Egyptian Viceroy, like the Sultan in later years, desired greatly to have these tall and robust mountaineers in his regiments. But the Druses were much opposed to military service, and sought for means whereby to avoid it. The only

sure way seemed to be that they should become Christians, at any rate in name. On no account would they attach themselves to the Roman Church, for the Roman Maronites had ever been their bitterest enemies. And the Roman priests were hated in Syria. So they hit upon the device of becoming Protestants. Naturally they did not explain their motives to the missionaries, else they would have met with no encouragement whatever. A remarkable experience now began for the Americans. Hardly a day passed but a deputation from some Druse sheikh sought an interview. Some asked that they should be visited by a missionary, others wanted a day-school or a catechist in their village, and others again asked for the establishment of a higher school for the sons of the nobility. The movement extended further and further, deputations appearing even from the valleys of Anti-Lebanon. Had the missionaries complied with all these requests without more ado, a great portion of the Druses, perhaps even the whole tribe, would have become Protestant, in name at least. But the Americans looked askance at conversions *en masse*. They would not barter the sacredness of their religion for a mere increase in numbers. Very shyly and shrinkingly they listened to the importunate Druses, establishing a school for the sons of Druse chiefs, and opening village schools here and there, while they themselves went preaching through the country. But they would baptize only such people as had been thoroughly prepared, and had passed through a time of probation. It is difficult to say what this movement might have led to, had not the Turks put an end to it with a strong hand. In 1842 an army marched into the Druse districts, occupying all the villages and forcing all the sheikhs, under threats of direst punishment, to promise solemnly that neither they nor their villages would ever forsake Islam for Protestantism. Thus an insurmountable wall was built up between the Druses and the mission. Yet the Druses remained the friends of the missionaries, and have often shielded them in times of danger.

There came a time when the results of the patient work of

the missionaries began to appear. One after another the Syrians had joined them in the early years. But the Protestant leaven began to work more vigorously. Now here, now there, a family, a group of families, or a whole village, was inclined to break away from the ancient Church, and to become Protestant. In one village, up in the mountains, the priest said mass for the last time, and then, leaving the church along with his congregation, locked the door and threw the key away, declaring that he would become Protestant, as he could not reconcile it with his conscience to say mass. In the large village of Hasbeiya those who wished to become Protestants assembled one Sunday, after the service, around the missionary, and solemnly declared that those who had signed their names bound themselves in the sight of God, and before that assembly, to hold together in one faith, and to worship God according to the teaching of the Gospel. Each took this oath standing, and with his hand on the Bible. In Ain Zehalty, every one who was not a Druse was reckoned as a Protestant; in Alma, the home of Asad Shidiak, the martyr, a Protestant congregation was formed; in Kana, to the east of Tyre, all, young and old, expressed a desire to be instructed in the Word of God. From Aintab and Haleb in the North, from Hamath and Homs in the East, and from as far as Lake Merom in the South, requests came for teachers, schools, Bibles, religious instruction and assistance in forming Protestant congregations. The missionary map of Syria became covered with red dots, signifying hopeful villages and districts. The missionaries would have needed to multiply themselves many times to meet all these requests. At first they had dwelt together in Beirut, but now they were obliged to scatter over the entire country. This was more easy to do in Syria than in other mission fields, for the reason that the Syrian houses, being solidly built of stone, could, without much trouble, be turned into dwellings for the missionaries. Consequently we find, temporarily, missionaries in Abeih, Deir el Kamr, Sidon and Suk el Gharb in the South; and, to the North, in Homs, Hamath, Aleppo and Tripoli. Sad to

say, there were not sufficient missionaries to enter all the open doors. This was the more regrettable, as the Roman and Greek opponents of the mission left no stone unturned to hamper the Protestant cause, and to intimidate Protestant converts. In almost every town and village there had to be a severe contest before those of the ancient faith would tolerate the Protestants. To give one example of such conflicts, we single out Safita,[1] a village to the north of Tripoli. It was in the first instance secular reasons that induced a great part of the villagers to go over to the Protestant Church. They were sorely pressed by the cruel Turkish tax-gatherers, and hoped to be secured against injustice by taking this step. But they had reckoned without their host, for the Greek Bishop bribed the Turks to drive the people out of their houses, to break all that could be broken, to consume all that was eatable, and to deliver the women over to the will of the Turkish soldiers. The unfortunate people started in a body to seek help from the chief magistrate of Tripoli. When he refused they turned to the governor in Damascus. By the latter they were kindly received, and were sent home laden with promises of a reassuring character. But, when harvest-time approached, the trouble began again. Their wheat-fields were ploughed up by their enemies, their olive orchards were secretly plundered; wherever a Protestant was met, unaccompanied, he was half killed. The Muhammadan governor was bribed to exterminate this "abominable sect," and he was willing enough to do so. As if that were not enough, every Protestant, man, woman and child, in Safita was seized in the depth of winter, all being cast together into a narrow room. To torture them still more, straw was set on fire, producing a fearfully suffocating smoke. After that, they were set free, but while they were assembled at evening service, Turkish horsemen broke into their houses, plundering them, and when the Protestants came home, all, both old and young, were driven out into the night. It was marvellous in the eyes of the mission-

[1] It is one of the chief places of the Nusairiyeh, and was formerly the seat of their hereditary sheikh.

aries that, under such pressure, they did not all return to the Greek Church, especially as their persecutors held out the distinct promise that their sufferings should cease, as soon as they abjured Protestantism. Yet a number, at least, of these sorely tried people remained faithful, attaching themselves all the closer to the missionaries, and growing in grace in the furnace of affliction. The only help in such and similar trials was for the missionaries to apply to the British and American consuls for protection, and thereby to exercise pressure on the governor of Damascus. It would seem that in Syria the opposition to the mission is more stubborn and malignant than in Armenia, a fact which is probably to be explained by the greater influence exercised by the Roman Church in Syria. This is the reason why a larger and more connected movement in the direction of Protestantism has never come about. There have been only small groups of converts here and there.

During these years the missionaries in Beirut had completed the translation of the Bible into Arabic, a work of importance, not only for Syria, but also for all other Arabic-speaking countries. Portions of the Bible had already been translated into Arabic, but these were neither sufficiently accurate, nor were they of an idiomatic and flowing style. Arabic is one of the most delicate, many-sided, and, at the same time, difficult languages, to be master of which demands an uncommon measure of linguistic talent and untiring study. Educated Arabs are very sensitive about an imperfect use of their beautiful language, and are, accordingly, prejudiced against a faulty translation. Two of the most able American missionaries, Dr. Eli Smith and Dr. Van Dyck, each spent eight years over their great undertaking, the former being snatched from his work by cholera on the 11th of January, 1857. The Rev. Eli Smith, D. D., was one of the most prominent of the Syrian missionaries. Born in 1801, he was sent in 1824 to Malta and Beirut, especially to superintend the printing establishment, and this remained until his death the centre of his activity. For decades there was hardly a manuscript printed here that he had not thoroughly revised and

seen through the press. He was a thorough expert in all oriental matters, and a diligent student. In 1830 and 1831, as we have already said, he, with his colleague, Rev. Wm. Goodell, D. D., undertook the now famous exploration of Eastern Asia Minor and Transcaucasia, which is described in that much-read book "Christian Researches in Armenia" (2 vols.). In 1837, 1838 and 1852 he accompanied Dr. Robinson, the explorer of Palestine, on his pioneering journey of exploration. But his great achievement was his Arabic translation of the New Testament, the Pentateuch and some of the Prophetic Books. His Arab assistant in this work was the Maronite convert, Butros Bistany, perhaps the most learned, industrious and successful, as well as the most influential man of modern Syria. He has himself written several large works in Arabic, and was a tower of strength to the Protestant Church in Beirut, until his death in 1883.

The Rev. C. V. A. Van Dyck, M. D., D. D., LL. D., was sent out as a medical missionary, and was so highly prized as such, that the Orthodox Greeks were glad to ask his frequent help in their St. George's hospital in Beirut, and that, after his death, they erected a monument in his honour, a remarkable testimony of gratitude on the part of a Church that saw in the Americans dangerous rivals. After Dr. Eli Smith's death, Dr. Van Dyck undertook the task of Bible translation, with the assistance of the mufti, Sheikh Yusuf Asir, a graduate of the Azhar University in Cairo, completing it after eight years of most strenuous work. On the 10th of March, 1865, the completion of this monumental work was celebrated in a thanksgiving service in Beirut. Directly after this, Dr. Van Dyck returned home to have the Arabic version electrotyped in New York. Duplicate plates of this then very costly edition were deposited with the Bible Societies in New York and London, and in the vaults of the American press. This Arabic translation is, in the opinion of experts, a masterpiece, and one of the best translations of the Bible in our times. It has since been one of the most important missionary agencies in Syria and far beyond, to Morocco in the West

and to Khartum in the South, in Arabia, Persia, North and South India, in fact in all Muhammadan countries in which Arabic is spoken and understood. In 1837 the Mejlis el Maarif, or Board of Public Instruction of the Sultan, placed the seal of authorization upon thirty-three different editions of the Arabic Bible and portions of the Bible. Dr. Van Dyck died on the 13th of November, 1895, in Beirut, at the age of seventy-seven.

Among the American missionaries of this period, mention must be made of the learned Rev. Wm. M. Thomson, D. D., the celebrated explorer of Palestine, who gave the results of his comprehensive and careful studies in "The Land and the Book," one of the most read books in America, treating of the Holy Land. He continued for fifty years his work as a missionary in Syria, retiring in 1877. He died in Denver, Colorado, on the 8th of April, 1894, aged eighty-nine years. Dr. W. W. Eddy devoted himself chiefly to the training of teachers, opening a theological seminary in Abeih, which he subsequently removed to Beirut in 1873. He died in 1900 in Beirut, at the age of seventy-eight.

The rebellion of the Druses in 1860 is a tragic episode in the history of the Syrian Mission. It was again the fault of the Maronites. In spite of the defeats they had suffered in 1842 and 1845, they were still eager to fight, hoping thoroughly to humble their hated neighbours. Without any cause they fell upon several Druse villages, but the Druses rose up against them as one man, being encouraged and supported also in the work of slaughter by the Turks, who held that a little blood-letting was good for these Christians, who were becoming too powerful and numerous. Soon the mountains and valleys of Southern Lebanon were resounding with the cries of agony and death, uttered by the unhappy Maronites, whose men and growing boys were mercilessly slaughtered, while the women fled helplessly down to the seacoast to seek protection in Beirut and Sidon. In the valley of Cœle-Syria, between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, more than a thousand Maronites were

killed, the worst work being done in the Christian quarter of Damascus. On the 9th of July the Druses, assisted by Kurds and Arabs, rushed like a pack of famished wolves upon the Christians there, plundering and burning their houses for four or five days. Five thousand Christians are said to have been mercilessly massacred by these savages. And the Turkish authorities looked on with arms folded, not moving a finger to stop the carnage. What did it amount to, that, afterwards, when the powers, intervening for the defense of the Christians, collected a fleet off the Syrian coast, the Grand Vizier inflicted fearful punishment on one or two hundred of the malefactors in Damascus? It is impossible to say how great the number of the victims was. As usual in such cases, it was to the advantage of the Turks to state the smallest possible number, and they scorned the assumption that more than a few hundred, or at most a thousand, had been massacred. On the other hand the Maronites and their Romish friends enormously exaggerated the losses, reporting 30,000, or more, as having been murdered. Probably about 14,000 Maronites, Melchites and Greeks[1] lost their lives. It is worthy of notice that the Protestants were, in the main, not involved in these massacres. Only in Hasbeiya did they voluntarily join the Maronites and Greeks, whereupon they suffered greatly. That Protestants elsewhere were left for the most part in peace, is a clear proof that it was not mainly a religious struggle, but a feud between hereditary enemies, the Druses and the Maronites.

The suffering in the devastated districts was boundless, the villages having been plundered, the houses burned down, the plantations destroyed. By hundreds and thousands the helpless and defenseless widows and orphans crowded together on the coast. A cry of indignation resounded throughout Christian Europe that Turkey should permit such inhuman slaughter to take place at her very gates. Pity for the victims

[1] Canon Tristram, in "Daughters of Syria," estimates the number of the killed at 11,000; of those who perished from want, at 4,000; of widows and orphans, at 20,000; of ruined houses, at 3,000.

filled all hearts. It was the American missionaries who proved to be the chief benefactors of the afflicted people, knowing, as they did, land and people most intimately, and having also trustworthy acquaintances in all the villages. In their hands English, American and German friends placed about £40,000, and they hastened through the country, like Good Samaritans. They supplied the hungry with food, the naked with clothing, the houseless with shelter, the sick and wounded with medicine and nursing.

This unselfish exhibition of Christian charity on the part of the Protestants did not make any deep or lasting impression upon the Maronites, who were too much under the influence of the repellent spirit of their Jesuitical leaders. While they accepted the benefits, they remained unchanged in heart. The Christian Powers, however, as a result of this outbreak, insisted on the appointment of a special Christian governor for the Lebanon. Accordingly the mutessariflik of Lebanon was separated from the vilayet of Beirut. It comprises the seacoast from the neighbourhood of Sidon to Tripoli, with the exception of the town of Beirut, which, with Galilee and the southern half of Phœnicia, still belongs to the vilayet, and the Lebanon range as far as Bekaa (Cœle-Syria), a part of the country that is especially inhabited by Christians. Here dwell the most of the Maronites, from 30,000 to 40,000 Melchites, 20,000 to 30,000 Orthodox Greeks and 3,000 Protestant Syrians, there being about 60,000 Muhammadans, Druses and Metawileh. In accord with the numerical superiority of the Roman Church, the Pasha is always a Roman Christian, either a Maronite or a Melchite. This new arrangement has proved to be very beneficial to the country, especially as most of the governors have endeavoured to be impartial, and to protect all the Christian congregations. It is probably owing to this that, since 1860, more and more Druses have been emigrating to the Hauran, the neighbourhood of the Christians proving too disagreeable. Consequently comparative order has since then reigned in Syria. As Christians, the inhabitants are exempt from military service, the

Druses also having had this freedom granted them. A certain amount of free speech and freedom of the press is allowed, subject to the argus eyes of the censor. The people have their own ecclesiastical courts of justice, in which minor lawsuits, especially such as deal with questions of inheritance, may be settled. The buying and selling of land are not so senselessly difficult as in other parts of Turkey. The district enjoys a certain reduction of taxation. The solidly built houses, with their roofs of red tiles, standing in the midst of green gardens and plantations, are in marked contrast with those of the poverty-stricken villages in other districts.

2. *The Entrance of Other Missionary Societies*

The news of the massacres excited intense sympathy in the whole of the Christian world. Able representatives of the cause succeeded in deepening the momentary feeling of pity into permanent support. In this way the year 1860 opened a new chapter in the history of Protestant endeavour in the Near East. Apart from the work of Bishop Gobat in Jerusalem, no single event prior to the Armenian horrors in 1895 and 1896 proved to be such an incentive to the active coöperation of Protestants in the evangelization of this part of the world. It is a remarkable fact that hardly any of the great missionary societies, existing at that time in Europe, undertook work in Syria. The work was undertaken, rather, by smaller societies, founded specially for this purpose, or by independent missionaries. Neither in England, Scotland nor Germany did the mission work in the Near East immediately appeal to the Christian public, nor did it there find such general appreciation and support as in Congregational and Presbyterian circles in America. This is the secret of the fact that these new missionary agencies have accomplished no single great end, but have expended their energies on minor endeavours. Their united forces were hardly equal to that of the American Board or of the Presbyterian Mission of a later date. A characteristic common to these smaller undertakings is that they did not aim at the formation of congregations. When

their labours resulted in conversions to Protestantism, their converts, if they did not remain in the service of the mission, joined the congregations established by the Americans. But there were never many such converts, and the influence of these missions has been in general small.

For convenience we will make mention of all these smaller missions in Syria at this point, though some of them were begun before 1860.

(*a*) Two German societies were among the newcomers. One of these was the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Homes. Affected by the terrible news from Syria, Pastor Disselhoff, the son-in-law of the Rev. T. H. Fliedner, the founder of the society, received 130 girls into an orphanage called Zoar. As Fliedner's bold example found an echo in German hearts, he finally decided to make this orphanage a permanent institution for training Syrian girls, Maronites, Greeks and Druses—instruction being given in four classes, by nine deaconesses. Soon after the establishment of Zoar, Fliedner, influenced by the experience of the deaconesses in Smyrna, began on the same premises an advanced school for the older daughters of the more well-to-do Syrian families. This boarding-school has been maintained in the face of financial difficulties, and now numbers seventeen boarders and 143 day scholars. Both these institutions form a valuable contribution to the training of women, which had been so long neglected in the Near East.

In Beirut also in 1861, the Prussian Order of St. John founded a hospital, beautifully situated in the midst of a charming garden. The doctors and professors of the Syrian Protestant College undertook the medical charge of the hospital, and the Kaiserswerth deaconesses did the nursing, while the Order made itself responsible for the considerable expense entailed. For forty-seven years this well-conducted Protestant hospital, with its eighty-three beds, has been the only large Protestant institution of its kind in Beirut. Over 700 in-patients and 15,000 out-patients are treated annually.

(*b*) Various British societies also began mission work in

Syria. In 1854 and 1855, Dr. Bowen Thompson, a man of wealth, had, with his wife's assistance, been doing evangelistic work in Antioch, where he had won many hearts. At the same time Mentor Mott, his brother-in-law, was working with his wife in Southern Syria. Dr. Thompson, while serving as a doctor in the British army in the Crimean War, fell a victim to hospital fever. But his widow decided to devote her life and means to the service of Syria along with the Motts. The massacres of 1860 pointed out a way to them. They established girls' schools, first in Beirut, then also in Damascus, Zahleh, Baalbek, Sidon and Tripoli. These schools were at first maintained at the cost of Mrs. Thompson, but, after her death on the 14th of November, 1870, a well-supported English society furnished her sister, Mrs. Mott, with a yearly contribution of £9,000. With this considerable sum, presumably the largest that is at the disposal of any single mission in Syria, save that of the Presbyterian Board, a network of girls' schools was spread over Syria, so that in 1902 there were fifty-six of them with a total of 4,262 pupils. The three most important girls' boarding-schools are at Beirut, Hasbeiya and Tyre. The personnel of the mission consists of one medical missionary, twenty lady missionaries, and 128 Syrian female teachers. The society has had regard for the blind also, and has had Smith's and Van Dyck's Arabic Bible prepared for them. As Prince of Wales, King Edward VII interested himself in these schools, and induced the Sultan to issue a firman, permitting the society to establish schools all over Syria. The Sultan, in recognition of her services, himself presented Mrs. Thompson before her death with a village near Baalbek, which was to help maintain her work. This work has, apart from the establishment of schools, branched out into other forms of quiet mission endeavour. It employs twenty-five Bible-women to read the Scriptures to women and children in the villages, and to impart elementary knowledge of Gospel truth. In Beirut it maintains an "Institute" for training native female teachers and Bible-women. There are seventy students. Medical work is done

to a modest extent, and without charges, mostly by means of dispensaries, in Beirut, Damascus, Baalbek and Tyre.

English "Friends," who, though few in numbers, are spiritually strong and zealous in mission work (Leslie: "The Story of the Friends' Work in Syria"), also took up work in Syria, individual men and women acting more or less as volunteers, at their own charges. As might be expected from the loose organization of the Friends, their mission work abroad was slow to take on the centralized organization of a mission directed by a committee of management at home. The first introduction of a general plan took place after the visitation conducted by Watson Grace, a young mission secretary, who died soon afterwards, in 1901. The Friends chose the airy, high-lying village of Brummana, to the southeast of Beirut, on the slopes of the Lebanon, for their headquarters. Here they opened advanced boarding-schools for boys and girls, these being gradually followed by fifteen village schools, so that now the mission has about 1,300 pupils altogether. Later on medical mission work was begun, and a hospital established in Brummana, which has been several times enlarged. It was superintended by two well-qualified Syrian doctors, who had, however, English nurses under them. Four Bible-women carry the Gospel to the mountain villages of the Maronites and Druses. The Friends have formed among the Syrians a community after their own pattern, but there are only eighty-two adult members. Since 1890 some out-stations round Brummana have been supplied with missionaries, *e. g.*, Ras el Metn, in 1890, Beit Meri, about half an hour's walk from Brummana, in 1898, and Abadije, in 1899. This has been done chiefly for the sake of the better supervision and guidance of the ever-extending work of the village schools and the Bible-women. This mission has generally a staff of four married missionaries, and from five to seven lady missionaries.

There has been latterly an interesting offshoot of this work. A former missionary in Abyssinia, Theophilus Waldmeyer, who afterwards entered the Friends' Mission in Brummana, had

set his heart on ministering to the wants of the numerous insane, who were being cruelly treated by their ignorant neighbours. With the assistance of a committee, which worked in England, America and Germany, one building after another was erected on a suitable plot of ground, that had been acquired about three miles from Beirut, in the village of Asfurie. A doctor was placed in charge, with several male and female nurses under him, and the asylum was opened in 1900, the only institution of the kind on modern lines in Syria, and a great boon to its unfortunate inmates.

Four of the most prominent Scottish clergymen, amongst them Andrew Bonar and McCheyne, were sent to make enquiries in Syria with a view to establishing there a Protestant Mission. At first nothing came of this. But in 1860, the year of terror, the Scotch were by no means behind others. Under the influence of the massacres, a Lebanon School Association was formed, which soon established nine schools, in which about 500 boys and girls were gathered. The Free Church of Scotland had, as early as 1853, a group of fifteen village schools. For their better management, a main station was founded in 1872 at Shuweir, to the east of Beirut, where a married, ordained missionary, who also acted as doctor, was placed. The chief branches of this quiet work were an extensive medical practice connected with a dispensary, and a boarding-school for boys at Shuweir, which prepared for the college in Beirut. Dr. Carslaw was at the head of all this work. Latterly both of these Scottish efforts have been amalgamated with the larger cognate work of the American Presbyterians. With characteristic magnanimity the Free Church continues to provide the salary of the missionary, now working under American management.

The Druses have frequently attracted the attention of friends of missionary work. The interesting connection of the American Board with this remarkable race has already been mentioned. The Church Missionary Society also once came into touch with the Druses in connection with their Palestine mission, that is to say, with that portion of the Druses

which had emigrated to the Lejah (Argob, Trachonitis, or Jebel ed Drus). In 1876 they took over five schools for Druse children in Ezra, Lahiteh, Kunawat, Atil and Kharaba, schools which had been established in connection with the work in Damascus (cf. Rev. Mr. Bellamy's report on his journey and visitation. *Intelligencer*, 1881, p. 81 ff.). These schools were well attended. The Druses were ambitious to make as great progress as was being made by Oriental Christians under missionary influence. Hence they desired to have English schools. They had no thought of becoming Christians; indeed the older people still held aloof even from the schools. When, in 1885, the Turkish government struck what it hoped would be a death-blow to the schools of the Protestant Mission, by forbidding, under pain of punishment, the attendance of Muhammadan children, the Druse schools fell as the first victims. Nor did the Church Missionary Society ever resuscitate them.

In 1865 Miss Wordsworth Smith felt herself drawn to work among the western branch of the Druses, in the village of Baaklin, which lies to the south of Deir el Kamr, the former seat of the Emir of the Druses. Succeeding in arousing the interest of a small circle of English friends, she was able to begin a nurses' mission among the Druses of the Lebanon, which extended its work later, under the name of "The Palestine and Lebanon Nurses' Mission." Its staff consists of one doctor and three lady missionaries. Their hospital at Baaklin has an annual income of about £400. Another English lady, Miss Louisa Procter, has, since 1885, opened on her own account several boarding-schools in Shuweifat, to the south of Beirut, and in connection with them maintains a medical mission. In 1905 she handed over her institutions to a committee, which she herself appointed, in order to secure their continuance after her death. Miss Juliana Williams provided a girls' school in the isolated village of Kuifun, near Shumlan. This school was at first connected with the independent mission of a wealthy English clergyman, Rev. T. H. Worsley; after the abandonment of the latter, it was, however, continued. In Baaklin, the chief village of the Druses in the Lebanon, a

girls' school (106 pupils) was founded in memory of Rev. John Wilson, a warm friend of the Holy Land. This institution came afterwards under the management of the American Presbyterian Mission, though it still enjoyed its private sources of income. With Safed in the north of Galilee as a centre of operations, an American lady, Miss Ford, began work among the Druses of the Hauran. She is said to have found many open doors for her work, which she subsequently requested the Presbyterian Mission to take over. As a result, there are now two small Protestant congregations in Kharabeh and Khasfin. A Scottish lady, Miss Taylor, began an unpretentious work in 1868, with a dispensary, a girls' orphanage, village schools and visitation of the harems. She died on the 6th of January, 1907, but her work is still being carried on. The Established Church of Scotland has also a Jewish mission station in Beirut, with well-attended boys' and girls' schools. In Kafr Shima, a Swiss lady, Miss Appia, is doing independent work.

Damascus, the ancient capital of Syria, lies beautifully situated in an extraordinarily fertile and well-watered plain. Its population is about 154,000. Of this population 33,000 were Christians in 1860, the year of misfortune,—Greeks, Jacobites and "united" Roman Catholics. After the massacre, a great portion of these were dispersed, fearing the effects of a particularly sensitive fanaticism, prevalent at that time in Damascus. Thus the number of Christians dwindled down to ten or fifteen thousand, and only slowly is their number approaching the former figures. There are also about 8,000 Jews in Damascus.

In 1843 the Irish Presbyterians, conjointly with the Free Church of Scotland, sent a deputation consisting of Dr. Wilson, the eminent Scottish missionary in Bombay, and Dr. Graham of Ireland, to Syria to make preparations for a joint mission of those Churches. They recommended Damascus as the point of departure. In 1843 this mission was started. The Free Church soon retired, but its place was taken by the United Presbyterians of America (1845–1877). They also

abandoned the work, after their Church began its mission in Egypt in the year 1854; so that the work in Damascus is now carried on by the Irish Presbyterians alone.

In the first years of this mission several striking conversions took place, which aroused great excitement. Thus in 1848 Meshaka, a Roman Catholic doctor, joined them, followed in 1852 by the Dominican missionary, Ferrette. In 1860 Damascus suffered severely from the disturbances in the Lebanon. In the massacre of July 9th–15th, the Irish pioneer, Dr. Graham, was murdered. After this visitation a new era seemed to have begun for the mission, for, in 1871, the British consul reported to his government that thousands of Moslems were on the point of embracing Christianity. This expectation was, however, not realized. In 1875 a new door seemed to be opening, for the Greeks, disgusted with their avaricious archbishop, turned *en masse* to the Protestant Church. But here also there was disappointment in store for the mission. Since then it has gone forward on its quiet way. Round the main station in Damascus there is a circle of eleven out-stations. The result of fifty years' patient work is to be found in the two hundred communicant members, and five or six hundred adherents, and in the thousand pupils gathered in nineteen primary schools. In 1866 the Edinburgh Medical Mission Association commenced its work in connection with the Victoria Hospital, a work peculiarly appropriate in a place where Moslem fanaticism pertinaciously opposes Christianity.

During the past four years, the Irish Society has transferred several of its out-stations to the Danish Orient Mission, which has lately entered the country under the leadership of Pastor Trip and Dr. Fox Maule, who have settled down among the Beduins on the outskirts of the desert, in Derratije, Nebk and Kirjatein, where they have begun to labour with great zeal.

(*c*) In Northern Syria are to be found missions of an American Church, and of several small English societies. The American Reformed Presbyterians, the so-called Covenanters, being but a small Church of barely 10,000 com-

municants, are not able to support a strong mission, especially since their Church has recently begun work in China. They adhere strictly to their Calvinistic traditions, singing no hymns but only a rhythmical version of the Psalms. Here Rev. S. Lyde, an English independent missionary (died 1860), settled in 1854, interesting himself much in the Nusairiyeh, among whom he began an evangelistic work, starting from Bahamrat.

In 1886 his lungs became seriously affected, and he was therefore glad to hand over the work to his American successors. Soon several of the Nusairiyeh were baptized, and employed as teachers. It was hoped that, by means of schools for boys and girls, this shy and retiring mountain folk could be won over. But the Turkish authorities were watching the attempt with hostile eyes. The forty mission schools were closed, the converts from among the Nusairiyeh were drafted into the Turkish army, being thus removed from the influence of the mission, and the entire people were pronounced to be Muhammadans, being thus debarred from becoming Christians. These Turkish intrigues put a stop to the work among the Nusairiyeh.

Attention was now turned to the Oriental Churches, and, with them in view, the work was extended to Cilicia and the island of Cyprus. In Cilicia stations were begun in 1880 in Mersina, Tarsus and Adana. These stations were, however, only feebly occupied, there being at present only two missionaries and one lady nurse, the church-members numbering seventy-four. There is room for the Reformed Church alongside the larger work of the Board in this thickly populated province. Cyprus, which, since 1878, has been under the British Crown, is predominatingly Greek Orthodox.[1]

The Reformed Church Mission, after first stationing an able assistant there, entered upon more extensive work on the island, where, however, they employ but two missionaries,

[1] Of the population of 209,286 in 1891, 158,585 belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, 47,926 were Muhammadans, 1,131 Maronites, 915 Roman Catholics, 280 Armenians, and 271 Protestants, among whom many were English.

brothers, one of whom is a doctor. Under English rule Muhammadans proved to be less unapproachable, and some of them joined the mission. But the Greeks kept sternly aloof, and even offered violent opposition. Chapels were maliciously set on fire, and the lives of converts were threatened by excited crowds. The British authorities also intimated to the missionaries that they did not approve of their proselytizing among the Greek Christians, and that sufficient provision was being made for the sick by the government. Cyprus is, therefore, not an inviting place as a mission field. There are only twenty-five or thirty communicants belonging to the mission. The stations are the harbour town of Larnaka, and Leukosia (Nicosia), the capital of the island.

Several undertakings on a smaller scale must now be mentioned, some of which were soon abandoned. Skene, the British consul, tried in 1860 to settle Beduins of the Syrian desert as agriculturists, and to persuade their children to attend Christian schools.[1]

In Antioch, the ancient capital of Syria, which gives to-day no evidence of its former greatness, two small Churches, the Scottish and Irish Reformed Presbyterian Churches, founded a small mission, which was conducted by a medical missionary. After the latter had long managed with an inadequate rented cottage, a roomy mission house was built, costing

[1] Skene's project was an interesting one. As British Consul in Aleppo, he had seen how the Beduin robber tribes, such as the Anesi and Heduan, were continually pushing back the peaceful farmers of Syria, in order to obtain more and better pasturage for their ever-increasing herds of camels and sheep. As he had, since the Crimean War, kept up an acquaintance with influential Beduin sheikhs, he thought he would be able, in spite of the Beduins' deep-rooted distrust of the Turkish authorities, to induce several tribes to establish a kind of buffer against the desert hordes of nomads and bandits. Under the presumption that the hatti humayoun allowed religious liberty in Turkey (cf. Chap. III, 6), a Muhammadan missionary society was formed in London on the motion of Dr. Muehleisen Arnold in 1861. This society entered into communication with Skene, with a view to finding centres for their missionary work in these agricultural settlements. But Skene's project was frustrated by Turkish indifference, and Arnold's Muhammadan Mission had no vitality in it (*Ev. Missionsmagazin*, 1861, pp. 319 ff.).

£2,100, and the mission was extended by additional out-stations at Idlib (1884) and Sueidiye (1889). Although every effort is made to reach the entire population, yet the main part of the work has been carried on among the Orthodox Greeks. About forty converts form the only congregation. In Sueidiye, the Seleucia of former times, an Englishman, Dr. Holt Yates, began independent missionary work in 1846. Dying in 1874, he bequeathed the whole of his mission property to the American Reformed Mission, which, since then, has maintained Sueidiye as an out-station of Latakia.

The large town of Haleb (Aleppo), the present capital of Northern Syria, which long ago outstripped Antioch, being the central point of various great caravan routes, and the main station (at present also the terminus) of the Syrian railway between Beirut and the North, has been occupied by various societies, one after another, first in 1855 by the American Board, which had here the southernmost station of its Central Turkey Mission; later (1857–1866) by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which, with Aleppo as its starting-point, carried on missionary work among the Jews; and, since 1895, by the Presbyterian Church of England, which also prefers to labour among the Jews.

The waste of energy that results from the dividing of the missionary undertaking in Syria among so many small, independent missions is to be regretted. Though considerable sums have been spent, but little abiding effect has been produced in this religiously and politically distracted country. Yet, by means of their numerous schools scattered over the country, in which according to English custom the English language takes the foremost place, they have had a share in winning a recognition of the importance of the English language and of Protestant culture, in conjunction with other English influences, that have entered the country. And this result is of importance for the Protestant missionary undertaking, particularly since the French language and Jesuitical influence had been greatly fostered by the powerful Roman Mission and the Jesuit schools. Against these latter an ener-

getic pushing of English and Protestant influences is a necessary and valuable step in the direction of the preaching of the Gospel. It may be asserted that in the course of the twenty-five years succeeding 1860, every considerable village in the whole of Syria, from Hamath and Latakia in the North right into Galilee, has been occupied by Protestant missions. Herein is to be found an explanation of the fact that the predominant mission of the American Presbyterians has never thought it necessary to vie with other societies in the formation of stations. Its work has been intensive rather than extensive.

By introducing an account of these minor missionary efforts at this point, we have been anticipating the course of the history of missions in Syria, so that we must now retrace our steps to the year 1870.

3. *The Mission of the American Presbyterians, 1870–1908*

When the American Board was founded in 1810, it gathered around itself friends of missions in the Congregational Church, but, like the London Mission in its early days, invited other denominations, especially the Presbyterians, to take a share in the work. In the course of the century denominational consciousness among the Presbyterians grew stronger, and in 1837 the Presbyterians of the "Old School" separated themselves from the Board. When, in 1870, the "New School" combined with the "Old School," so forming the great Northern Presbyterian Church of the United States, the Board decided to transfer its mission in Syria, as well as that in Persia (see Chap. V, 2) to this Church, seeing that its income in America would be seriously reduced by the withdrawal of the Presbyterians. At first, however, this arrangement affected the mission in Syria but little, since the old missionaries remained at their posts under the new management. Yet the year 1870 must be regarded as the beginning of a new era in the history of Syrian missions. If the entire work had been till then more or less in process of de-

velopment, branch after branch of it now began to be consolidated. This is true, first of all, of the mission stations.[1] With the exception of the headquarters at Beirut, the stations had been often changed. This had been an advantage in the first decades of the work. Now, however, the work was consolidated around five stations, chiefly because of the establishment of advanced schools in these stations. Tripoli in the North and Sidon in the South were chosen as centres of activity. It was not so easy to select central stations in the extensive mountain region of the Lebanon, with the numerous villages on its western slopes, and in the fruitful valley of Cœle-Syria. There were here for a time two stations, one in Abeih (1873) and the other in Zahleh (1872). With a view to better ecclesiastical concentration, they were combined in the "Lebanon station," with its centre in Zahleh. To the present day there are various American and Scottish married missionaries living within this "Lebanon station," especially in Abeih and Shuweir. Suk el Gharb with its flourishing high-school is an important out-station.

As Syria is a healthful country, the mission has had the advantage of great continuity in its staff. There are to-day, still living among the missionaries there, and working with their remaining strength, the widows of Dr. Van Dyck, the Bible translator, and of the missionary Wm. Bird; the former having been sixty-five years in the service of the mission, and the latter fifty-five years. The two Nestors of the mission are Dr. H. H. Jessup and Dr. Daniel Bliss, both of whom celebrated their fifty years' jubilee as missionaries in 1906. Dr. Bliss, the founder of the Syrian Protestant College and its president for many years, has been succeeded in this work by his son, Dr. Howard Bliss. Dr. Jessup is still in active service, as is also Dr. Samuel Jessup. A circum-

[1] At the time of the transfer, the Syrian Mission had four main stations, served by nine missionaries and nine lady missionaries, one Syrian pastor, eleven catechists and thirty-four teachers. There were eight churches with 245 communicants, thirty-one schools with 1,184 pupils, one theological seminary in Abeih, one seminary for girls in Beirut, and a large printing establishment.

stance, which has also contributed to the continuity of the work, is that service in the mission seems almost to have become hereditary in certain families. Especially do the Jessups distinguish themselves in this respect. The *Assembly Herald* (1908, p. 546) reproduces the picture of an interesting group of fifteen men still in active service, representing in all 350 years of service.

A heavy cross laid upon the mission was the intolerance of the Turkish authorities, who have striven to hamper the work in every possible way. The closing of the Church Missionary Society schools among the Druses, and of the schools of the Reformed Presbyterians among the Nusairiyeh, has been already referred to. About the year 1886, the ill treatment on the part of the Turks became nearly intolerable. Eleven schools, situated between Tripoli and Hamath, were closed, as well as all the mission schools in the neighbourhood of Adana in Cilicia, and to the east of Banias on Mount Hermon. Here also seven Protestant places of worship were officially closed. In spite of many negotiations, the building of a new Protestant church was not permitted. It became known that a secret order had come from the Minister in Constantinople, in 1885, to the effect that no churches, nor other places of worship, nor charitable institutions, might be either built or repaired, and that such as had been repaired or built without special permission should be closed (*Intelligencer*, 1886, p. 793).

The Protestant missionaries were in sad trouble. All their attempts to obtain relief in high quarters were in vain. At last they drew up an open letter, addressed to the Christian Powers and to public opinion in Europe. This was attended with such a measure of success that the Turkish authorities relented somewhat, though most of the schools remained closed. The time of systematic oppression came to an end, but only after the development of the educational work of the mission had received a check from which it was hard to recover, a striking example of the hostile official influences, with which the mission has ever had to contend.

The Presbyterian Mission has developed chiefly in four directions:

(1) *Introduction of Presbyterian organization.* The missionary work of the great American Presbyterian Board throughout the world bears the impress of the Presbyterian form of church organization, according to which members of the native churches are grouped in congregations and presbyteries, and are, as far as possible, independent of the missionaries, maintaining and governing themselves, as well as carrying on their own evangelistic work. This internal organization resembles the loose connection of the Congregational Church Unions of the American Board in Turkey, but the essential difference of organization between the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches appears distinctly in the stricter constitution and union of the congregations of the Presbyterian Mission. The Presbyterians found thoroughly organized churches, when, in 1870, they took over the work from the Congregationalists. The first native church had been organized in 1848. By the year 1870 there were eight such churches, with 245 members, one native pastor and eleven preachers. The Presbyterian Church wisely left it to time to prepare the way for the change, which should bring the mission into conformity with the Presbyterian system. At the annual meeting of the mission in December, 1882, the plan of forming a synod and several presbyteries was unanimously adopted. In October, 1883, the first presbytery, that of Sidon, was organized, in 1890 the second, that of Tripoli, in 1896 a third, that of the Mount Lebanon district, which includes Beirut.

(2) *Literary work* is one of the chief activities of the mission. The centre of this work is the preparation of new editions, and the multiplication of copies, of the excellent translation of the Bible by Smith and Van Dyck. In the course of years, fifty editions, differing in form and type, have been issued and 1,250,000 bound copies have been disposed of. The great printing establishment in Beirut has also supplied the mission with such other publications as it

has required. Among these are school-books, books for public worship or private edification, and also the Arabic Protestant weekly, *En Neshra* (The Herald), which, however, has unfortunately a circulation of only 430 copies, and has therefore of necessity been reduced in size of late years. For the use of pastors and teachers there have also been published comprehensive commentaries on the books of the Bible. Thus there is already appearing a four volume commentary on the New Testament, also one of several volumes on the Pentateuch, and another on the Epistles. The output of this printing establishment at Beirut is considerable. In 1905, a record year, 47,250,000 pages of Bible editions were printed. In this literary work the Presbyterians have been most nobly assisted by the American Bible and Tract Societies. It is only by means of this support that this magnificent work has been made possible. A striking proof of the value of this literary work is the change of policy of the Roman Church in Syria. This Church, in the first decades, tried to suppress the circulation of the Bible, any copies introduced into the country by Protestants being burned. But as this proved without effect, and Protestant Bibles were bought or distributed by thousands and eagerly read, they themselves produced an Arabic translation of the Scriptures in Beirut which, in the main, agreed with the Protestant version, except that the Apocrypha were introduced and annotations containing extracts from the Church Fathers were added to the more important passages, with a view to establishing Roman exegesis. At first this literary work was not much interfered with by the Turkish authorities. But in 1869 the "Imperial Press and School Laws" were promulgated, establishing a very severe censorship over all books and newspapers. More than any other publication the weekly magazine, *En Neshra*, received severe criticism, and was temporarily suppressed. It was neither permitted to publish any news of current events, nor to make adverse criticism upon the religious beliefs of any of the sects in the empire. So its scope was very limited indeed.

(3) *Medical missionary work* was here, as everywhere else, carried on by the Presbyterian Mission. From the beginning able doctors were at work, among whom was Dr. Van Dyck, the eminent translator of the Bible. But it was only later on that regular medical mission stations were established, with the necessary staffs. This work has three centres, the largest of which is Beirut, where the St. John's Hospital has been placed at the disposal of the Syrian Protestant College. This is a good example of the advantage of coöperation, the order of St. John providing and maintaining the hospital, the Kaiserswerth Homes supplying the trained nurses, and the Presbyterians the doctors. It was a thoughtful action of the German Emperor, while on his visit to the Near East in 1898, to confer the order of the Red Eagle on the leading physician, Prof. Dr. Post, and thus to give expression to the gratitude of the German people to the Americans for their coöperation in this charitable work.

The Presbyterians have in Tripoli their only medical station that is fully equipped with hospital and dispensary. There are two dispensaries, at Hamath and Homs. Dr. Mary Eddy, who was the first lady in the Ottoman Empire to obtain the requisite Turkish diploma for the practice of medicine, proved equal to the exertions of many years of constant itinerant medical practice, during which she travelled with her case of medicines and bandages in all directions, in the service of women particularly. Latterly she has settled down on the coast near Beirut, at Funieh, opening also a small sanitarium at Mount Kaneesh for lung patients, who, strange to say, are as much avoided in Syria as lepers are.

(4) The greatest service which the Presbyterians have rendered has been the methodical development of their *educational system.* By means of their schools, they have extended their sphere of influence far beyond the borders of Syria.

The Protestant educational system can be fully understood only by glancing at the development of the Turkish system. About the middle of the nineteenth century, during the reign of

Sultan Abdul Mejid, who was a friend of reform (1839–1861), the all-powerful Grand Vizier, Reshid Pasha, systematically endeavoured to raise Turkey to the level of the civilized Western lands, and to this end he established, in all the large towns and centres of trade, schools, which were to be rashdiye, *i. e.*, purely secular institutions, in which occidental education was to be offered, especially a thorough grounding in French. Into these schools the children, even of Christians, poured, and it looked as if a new era had dawned for education in Turkey. But, in 1872, there was a backward swing of the pendulum. Occidental languages and subjects were tabooed. The Koran and specifically Muhammadan subjects were substituted for them. The result of this was that nearly all the Christian children left the schools, which, however, retained the name Rashdiye (secular), and, on that account, were supported by taxes, which were with particular pleasure levied upon Christians. Thus Turkey achieved two things by this peculiar educational policy. First, an excuse was supplied for throwing part of the burden of the expense of education on the Christian community, and, second, an effectual means was provided for harassing the mission schools. An order came that only teachers who had been granted diplomas by the official school boards should be allowed to teach in "special schools," which meant simply the mission schools. Yet very few such school boards were appointed, and such as were appointed consisted of narrow-minded Muhammadans, who refused to grant a diploma to any one who was a Christian. Such were the troubles that drove almost to distraction the Protestant missionaries of Syria and Palestine in the seventies and eighties of the last century (*Intellingencer*, 1886, pp. 785 ff.).

In the beginning of the sixties the necessity of establishing a central educational institution in Beirut was forced upon the attention of the Americans. Dr. Bliss, that able scholar and experienced missionary, was the chief advocate of this great undertaking, and to it he devoted his life. This institution was rendered independent of the mission in that a special

fund was collected for it, and a special board of trustees set over it. But as the members of this board are keenly interested in the general missionary undertaking, and as the general board of management in Beirut consists almost exclusively of missionaries, a close personal connection with the mission is maintained. The common interests also of the college and the mission demand continued coöperation. The college was opened in Beirut in the autumn of 1866, a preparatory class having been formed the previous year. Since then one chair after another has been instituted. At the present time there are fifteen large buildings and several smaller ones, occupying a lofty site on Ras Beirut, and presenting a very stately appearance. The corps of instruction and administration numbers seventy-one. Thirty-three of these are from America, and ten from Europe, while twenty-six are Syrians. It is, therefore, of all the Protestant schools in the Near East, the best equipped with a foreign staff. At present there are 827 students, of whom 346 are Greeks, 147 Protestants, 127 Muhammadans, sixty-two Jews, and twenty Druses. Thus all the many races of Syria are represented in it. There are seven departments; a preparatory department and a college impart general education, especially the indispensable knowledge of the English language, for, unfortunately, it has seemed necessary to make English the language of instruction, instead of Arabic, the national tongue. It is not required that all the students go through the entire course of nine years. If they come with sufficient general education and knowledge of English, they may dispense with a part of the preparatory course. Nor is it indispensable that students finish the college course before taking up special studies. Connected with the college are four special departments—a school of commerce, a medical department, a school of pharmacy, and a school of Biblical archæology and philology. It must be borne in mind that, in consequence of their unfavourable position under Turkish rule, Syrian Christians were excluded from many of the higher professions, commerce and medicine alone being really open to them. The medical department is

a brilliant feature of the institution, having, by its excellent work, gained the approbation, even of the Turkish government, to such an extent that the Government Board of Examiners comes from Constantinople to Beirut to superintend the examinations. At these examinations, by the way, the procedure is genuinely Turkish, for, since the students have been taught in English, their answers are well-nigh unintelligible to the Turkish examiners. Hence the interpreters have almost always a busy time. It is also certainly an advantage to the institution and to archæological study in general, that latterly a department for training expert assistants in the work of *excavation* has been added to the college. Nor are the women forgotten, for, attached to the medical school, there is a training-school for nurses. To provide these nurses with practice in their profession, an infirmary with forty beds, and a large children's hospital, have been added. The entire college is of a thoroughly evangelical character, attendance at the Bible classes and Sunday services being obligatory. The mixed composition of the students naturally leads to the result that in the religious instruction more weight is laid on the commonly accepted religious and ethical truths of Christianity than on specifically Protestant doctrinal views. The Syrian Protestant College is the highest school open to Christians in the Near East, and the solidity of its work is not surpassed by any of the public state schools of Turkey. The schools of all the other Protestant missions in these parts, as well as in Egypt, look up to the Beirut College as to a university, and send their promising students to finish their education there.

In an article entitled "America in the East," which Professor Ludwig Bernhard published in the "Russian Year Book," in 1905, he pictures the college as a grand and well-executed attempt to prepare the way for American interests, and particularly for American trade in the Near East. Such a conception of the institution is one-sided and misleading; the college is a missionary institution. Yet Bernhard's picture of the influences which go out from the college is, in the

main, correct, and he paints it in more glowing colours than a missionary author would dare to employ. "It is a pleasure to watch the stream of men that go out from the college to the conquest of the Near East. In a most real sense the medical men prepare the way. For it is through her physicians that America has disarmed her two mightiest enemies . . . even the Turkish government, which makes no attempt to conceal the hatred she cherishes towards the American missionaries. This very government recently gave official recognition to the medical faculty of the Americans. . . . It is for the Americans a mighty advantage that they have at their disposal a host of native teachers. These men, who have studied in the colleges at Constantinople and Beirut, are a by no means inferior body of teachers, else they would not be in such great demand in schools of the most varied sorts. The numerous mission schools of the Americans, scattered over the Near East, receive teachers from Beirut. . . . Even Turkish and other native schools are coming gradually under American influence, in that they seek teachers from Beirut, and even, in a measure, reform their method of instruction according to the American pattern. The great Druse school in the Lebanon, which only a few years ago stood under French influence, has put on an American dress. Thus the college is the source of streams which drive many mills. Everywhere in Turkey one sees their operation, and this influence will multiply itself many times."

While the college is independent of the general mission board, the latter itself conducts a comprehensive educational work, which, in its boys' department, is connected with the college, forming a kind of preparatory department. At the bottom of this system are the numerous village schools, large and small, the number of which is at present 100, with 5,089 pupils, 1,800 of whom are girls. Barely a fourth part of the children come from Protestant families. These village schools form one of the most important agencies for carrying Gospel knowledge to the remotest villages. Above them come several boarding-schools, some being for boys and some

for girls. The oldest of these boarding-schools for boys has already been mentioned, the "Seminary" at Abeih, which was continued, with many interruptions, until 1877. Its most successful head was the Rev. Dr. S. H. Calhoun (in Syria from 1843 to 1876). In 1882 it gave way to a new boys' boarding-school in Suk el Gharb, which enjoys a more elevated situation. This new institution has had a splendid development, having 167 boarders. Of perhaps greater importance is the "Gerard Academy" in Sidon. Here many of the mission teachers have received their training. In 1895 the scope of this institution was extended by the addition of an industrial department, and provision was also made for the care and instruction of orphan boys of Protestant parentage. Useful trades are taught as a means of present and future support. A farm of one hundred acres, not far from the city, called Dar es Salam, has been acquired for the use of the orphan department. Mrs. George Wood, the widow of one of the missionaries, has liberally endowed this flourishing industrial school. It has at present 227 boarders. Three boarding-schools have also been established for girls, the oldest of which, the Beirut Seminary (1861), is perhaps the principal girls' school, having 129 pupils, who pay 70,000 piastres a year in fees. The Tripoli Girls' School, established in 1873, has had for many years an able principal in Miss Harriet La Grange. The Sidon Seminary for Girls is of a somewhat different stamp, having been established in 1863 with a view to training teachers and Bible-women in mission work. It has generally received as boarders only Protestant girls.

There is throughout Syria very keen competition in educational work, due chiefly to the energetic educational policy which the Protestants have maintained in the face of all opposition and all suppression of their schools. According to the educational statistics of Beirut, in 1899, this town alone had sixty-seven schools for boys, and thirty-six for girls, with 170 male and female teachers, and 8,705 boys and 6,768 girls under tuition. Of all these schools, twelve for boys and

twenty for girls belonged to the different Protestant missions located in the town. The remaining seventy-one schools are divided among the Muhammadans, Greek Orthodox, Maronites, Latins, Melchites, Jesuits, Jews, Jacobites and Armenians. This is surely an embarrassment of riches for a town of barely 120,000 inhabitants. In spite of such keen competition, the American Presbyterian Mission maintains the leading position.

In order the better to realize the present state of Protestant missions in Syria, we must mark the many signs of a new era, that are to be observed at every turn. The country is being rapidly opened up by railways. In addition to the Beirut-Damascus line, which has been in existence for a considerable time, there are to-day a line connecting Aleppo with the Beirut-Damascus line, a line from Damascus to Medina, which was opened amid remarkable demonstrations and public rejoicings on the 1st of September, 1908, and which forms the greater part of the proposed Hejaz Railway, and a line connecting this Hejaz Railway with Haifa. Electric trams run in the streets of Damascus, and iron pipes convey icy water from a reservoir three miles from the city. In Beirut, also, they have electric tramways and electric lighting. The Turkish government has established a medical school with a hospital in Damascus, and is building a second hospital in Beirut, as well as a large commercial and technical school. The educational institutions of the Turkish Board of Education are open to Muhammadans only; to provide teaching for "Christian dogs" would be a height of liberality to which the Porte could hardly attain. Yet Christians of all denominations have come to see the importance of education, and schools are an object of vital interest.[1] To learn

[1] An interesting example of this change is seen in the district of Kesrwan, to the northeast of Beirut. The inhabitants of this former stronghold of fanatical Maronites, hitherto inaccessible to Protestants, have wakened up, and, thoroughly tired of priestly tyranny, are now begging the American Mission in Beirut, with an importunity hitherto hardly experienced in Syria, to establish schools amongst them, and to spread the knowledge of Bible truth (*Christian Missions*, 1908, p. 47).

the languages of the Occident is the ardent desire of the rising generation, and though but very few get beyond a kind of parrot proficiency in foreign tongues, yet, by means of these languages, and of the schools, a stream of Western culture is flooding a land made arid by Islam and Turkish mismanagement. Political autonomy under a Christian Pasha does not appear to have fulfilled all that was expected of it. No doubt the first Christian Pashas, David, Franco, Rostein, Wassa and Naum, were able men, and Syria was for forty years the envy of the adjacent provinces. But the Pasha who died in 1908 was a weak man, so that a scandalous state of things marked his term of office, nor is his successor able to cope with the existing abuses. The constitution, granted to the province, appears to be insufficient, and unsuited to the increase of the population and other altered conditions.

Hand in hand with the entrance of occidental culture into Syria, there is, unfortunately, increasing emigration taking place to Europe and, particularly, to the United States. As it is chiefly the Christians who have hitherto emigrated, the ratio of the Christian population to the Muhammadan in Syria is diminishing. Emigration from the Protestant congregations is disproportionately great, both because the missionaries are in intimate touch with foreign countries, and also because the thorough Protestant education which they have received makes the Protestant Christians peculiarly able to improve their circumstances abroad. The Protestant community in Beirut numbers, for instance, 235 communicants. Of these 112 live abroad. Nearly half of the members of the congregations belonging to the station at Tripoli have emigrated. It is now customary for the agents of the great steamship companies to visit the Christian villages of Syria, holding out prospects of gold mines in North or South America to the simple villagers. To some extent these emigrants attach themselves to churches in the countries to which they go. Many also return home, when they have done well abroad. But, alas, still more are ruined, body and soul, in their eager pursuit of wealth. As it is mostly the

strong, young people, the most fit to earn a livelihood, who emigrate, the efforts of the mission to place the congregations on an independent footing are greatly hindered. But this increasing emigration has at least a beneficial effect on the educational work of the mission, for, in order to succeed in America, it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of English, and consequently every school in which English is taught is well attended, fees, when required, being willingly paid. Nearly all of the Anglo-American schools are crowded, and the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut is compelled every year to add new buildings to meet the rush of students. In fact it is a golden opportunity for the mission in its educational work.

Relations with the rival Churches have hardly improved. The Maronites have learned to pride themselves on the help of the Roman Church. The Jesuits are busy everywhere opposing the Protestants and their missions. The fierce contest between Church and State in France, which has led to the dissolution of the bond that had existed between them there for centuries, has exercised a powerful influence on Roman missions in Syria. For, although these missions have now lost the political protection hitherto extended to them by France, as well as a large share of their financial support, by reason of the confiscation of so much of the property belonging to Church and Monastery in France, yet, on the other hand, the expulsion from France of various religious orders, to which monks and nuns belonged, has brought a host of workers to Syria, many of whom devote themselves to missionary undertakings. Hundreds of them are opening schools in all parts of Syria and Palestine, partly to keep their coreligionists from Protestant enlightenment, and partly with the hope of gradually absorbing the Orthodox Greek Church.

The Orthodox Greek Church, or at least the few educated men in it, backed by Russian influence and money, is trying to hold its own against both Protestants and Romanists. The Bishop of Beirut is erecting an institution of vast proportions to counteract the educational crusade of the Jesuits and

the powerful influence of the Protestant schools. Some years ago conditions were already such that a traveller called the Greek Church a "Russian colony." Particularly the district of Tripoli and the slopes of Mount Lebanon have recently been flooded with Russian free schools. As a consequence the people are constantly comparing the Protestant and Russian schools in the matter of methodical discipline, and, above all, with regard to school fees. Pressure of all kinds is sometimes put upon parents to take their children from the Protestants and to send them to the Russian schools. One surprising result of this multiplication of Russian schools is the great demand for Bibles and school-books at the Protestant press in Beirut. The Russians bought in 1900 no fewer than 4,026 Bibles and 7,893 school-books, and in 1901 there were twice as many books bought by the Russians as by all of the Protestant mission schools put together.

Both the Roman and the Greek Churches have had political influence behind them. At the time of the commencement of Protestant missions, Italy alone had political interests in Syria, and Italian was considered as the language of the educated. Whatever schools existed at that time were kept by Italian monks, and in these schools Italian was taught. All this underwent a change. France became very interested in establishing and furthering her influence in the Near East, and found it the most convenient and safest means to this end to take the Roman missions and the Roman churches under her wing. Starting with the theory that culture is determined by language, France granted large sums to subsidize all schools in which French was taught. As a result of this policy French is so widely understood that, with a thorough knowledge of that language, one can travel throughout the Near East from Alexandria to Constantinople. How the separation of Church and State in France will affect the policy of that country in the Near East is not yet clear. Hitherto she has been the patron of the Roman Churches, as Russia has been of the Orthodox Greek Churches. Both countries have found in their respective Churches a convenient tool

wherewith to force an entrance into the tottering Turkish Empire.

Nothing could be more detrimental to the spiritual development of the Syrian churches than their being thus wooed from all sides, and flooded with money and schools. It is to be regretted that a people, already inclined to pride and to an overestimate of its own virtues, should be encouraged in this folly, and that the efforts of the Protestant missions to train the Syrian Christians in habits of independence, and in the duty of supporting their own schools and churches, according to their means, should be frustrated. How can the people see the force of such teaching, when the Romanists and Russians offer to maintain both schools and churches free of cost, in some cases even rewarding the pupils for attendance by bestowing upon them books, clothing and meals? It is fortunate that the Syrians have no immediate use for the Russian language taught in these benevolent schools, and that they, therefore, on the whole, prefer the English schools, which prepare them for entrance into the college in Beirut. A still worse result of this system of patronage is, however, that it encourages the deep-rooted national propensity to rear walls of political and racial partisanship out of religious differences. Those who belong to the Greek Church rely on the powerful protection of the Russian consul or ambassador, while the Romanists look to the French officials. Genuine religious interest is thus choked by worldly considerations, and the Protestant Mission, which, because of its American origin, is not involved in politics, being merely a servant of the Gospel, is scorned and pushed aside.

In the midst of such contending and involved interests, the Protestant Mission has, nevertheless, made satisfactory progress. We have seen how modest the results were in 1870, the year in which the Presbyterians succeeded the American Board. To-day the Protestant Churches have formally received into their communion 3,207 members, scattered over this mountainous country. How many children belong to these congregations, or how many adherents reckon them-

selves as Protestants, it is unfortunately impossible to gather from the reports. Perhaps 2,300 would be a fair estimate. The 2,600 Presbyterian Protestants are gathered into thirty-four churches, belonging to three presbyteries, the largest being the Sidon Presbytery with 1,100 members. Forty years ago these Syrian Protestants had hardly yet learned that it was their duty to show their gratitude for the blessings of the Gospel by contributing of their substance to meeting the expenses of church and school. The people expected to have everything provided by the Americans; thus in 1852 the entire contributions made by Syrians amounted to only £400. But in 1907 the sums received from congregations and schools amounted to £10,600, while college fees added another £11,000. Two of these presbyteries raise for church and school requirements considerably more money than is provided by the Presbyterian Board for the maintenance of the mission. The congregation at Homs has made such advance towards self-support that, with money collected amongst themselves and, also, it is true, from members who have prospered in foreign countries, it has established a boys' boarding-school of its own. The presbyteries take part also in the work of evangelizing their nominally Christian countrymen by sending out preachers, whose salaries they pay. Emigration, however, has stood greatly in the way of consolidating and developing the Syrian Churches. By far the best developed missionary agency is the educational work. In the year 1857, although from the very beginning elementary village schools had received special attention, as being the most effectual means of gaining a footing amongst the people, there were but thirty such schools with 1,030 pupils. At present there are, apart from the Syrian Protestant College, 223 schools with an attendance of 12,356. "The pressure on us from every side for aid in opening schools is almost irresistible. It increases every year. The people jingle all the cash they can raise in our ears; not enough, it is true, to pay all the salary, and they add: We can get free schools from our religious leaders, but yours are better, and we want them, and

will pay all we can to get them" (Presbyterian Annual Report, 1908, p. 500).

It is, unfortunately, true that the hopes which were entertained ninety years ago, when the Syrian Mission was begun, have not been realized. There has been no general awakening to newness of life among the ancient Churches, and even less among the Muhammadans. Nor has the mission had any deep and abiding effect upon the numerous Maronites, Druses, Metawileh and Nusairiyeh. Nevertheless streams of life have flowed from it, bringing great blessing to the country. Every sect and religion in Syria is better to-day than it could ever have been without that mission. A Syrian shrewdly remarked, "You Protestants are a small sect, yet you have changed us all." If the sudden change in political conditions, which took place on the 24th of July, 1908, has the effect of offering a free and equal field to the competing forces of religious activity in Syria, it will then become evident how great a blessing has been conferred upon the Syrian Churches by the introduction of new vitality, through the agency of the American Mission.

(*B*) *Palestine*

Although Palestine, with its 650,000 inhabitants, is geographically and ethnographically a province of Syria, it deserves to be separately treated on account of its unique place in the history both of the world, of the Christian religion, and of Protestant missions. To Jews, Muhammadans and Christians alike it is the Holy Land. The longing to be near the holy places and to have a share in them has attracted thither members of the most varied religious communities. The mixture of Churches and sects is accordingly even greater than in any other part of the Near East. Especially in Jerusalem there is a sharp contest between Roman Catholics, Greeks, Russians and Armenians for predominance, and for possession of the ruins, spun round with their web of traditions. Nestorians, Jacobites, Abyssinians, Kopts, Maronites and others are also found dwelling there. But all these are being more

and more surpassed in influence as well as in numbers by the Jews, of whom there are 50,000 to 60,000 among the 90,000 inhabitants of the Holy City. And yet one cannot say that Jerusalem is a Jewish city, or makes the impression of being one. Of the 500,000 who inhabit the country outside Jerusalem, three-fourths are Muhammadan Arabs, and not more than one-eighth Christians. For the most part Turks are found there only as officials or soldiers in the towns.

Of the entire population of the country, about 80,000 are Christians,[1] Jewish statistics give 87,000 Jews, and the rest are Moslems. The Arabs, some 500,000 in number, are on no friendly terms with the 10,000 Turks. They are conscious of belonging to the race of the Prophet, and are angry that they should have been robbed by the indolent Turks of the supremacy appointed to them by Allah. There is said to be a strong feeling making headway among these Arabs, and those dwelling further south, aiming at a great Arab Empire that shall embrace all Arabs, with Mecca as its capital,—a Utopian dream. Arabs and Turks are contemptuous of both Christians and Jews, though more widely and profoundly so of the Jews. Their contempt for Christianity is often mixed with hatred, because Christians are angrily recognized as superior rivals. In every possible way, therefore, Christians of all creeds, even European travellers, are made to feel the Moslem's disdain. This is a great hindrance to missions among Muhammadans. Any Moslem embracing Christianity could not be sure of his life for a single day ; those of his own household would slay him, and the Turkish authorities would not move a finger to protect him. Apart from the 12,000[2] living in the ancient Jewish towns of Safed and Tiberias in Galilee, the Jewish inhabitants, till recently, consisted chiefly of im-

[1] In Palestine, as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, the population can only be estimated. Some of the estimates are 500,000; 650,000; 867,000; and even 1,000,000.

[2] Of the 87,000 Jews, some 55,000 live in Jerusalem; there are 8,000 in Safed, 3,500 in Tiberias, and a like number in Jaffa, 7,000 to 8,000 in twenty-nine Jewish agricultural colonies, and 1,690 in Haifa.

migrants in Jerusalem, either pious old men who wished to die in the Holy City, or lazy mendicants who relied on the plentiful *chaluka*, the weekly doles supplied by European millionaires, amounting in 1899 to £80,000. About forty years ago Jewish philanthropists began to establish agricultural colonies, where Jews from abroad were to till the soil of their forefathers. The Zion movement has given a great impetus to such colonization. After the failure of the leaders of this national movement to establish a more or less autonomous colony in British East Africa, Uganda, Canada, and the Argentines, it was decided to devote all their strength and riches to providing in Palestine a legally secure home for Jews. To accomplish this it was necessary to purchase land on a grand scale, and to get rid of the Arab fellaheen living on it. With the large means at their disposal, they first purchased fertile tracts of land in the plains of Sharon and Jezreel. Careful enquiries were also instituted as to the most suitable methods of agriculture. Success has hitherto attended these colonies only in so far as vast sums of money have been collected for them, since the Jews coming from abroad have proved to be wholly unsuited to the occupation of farming; nor do well-informed men take a hopeful view of their ultimate success. The expropriation of the native fellaheen, who have for ages cultivated the ground, is, therefore, to be deplored. And since there is little prospect of the establishment of a Jewish kingdom in Jerusalem, all of the Christian Powers being opposed to the Judaizing of the Holy Land, Zionism is a chimera, and the approval it finds in European circles is only intelligible as the expression of a vain hope of thus easily getting rid of the Jews in Europe. Although there is thus little hope for Zionism as a political scheme of colonization, yet the movement is so important, so many-sided, so well-organized, that every friend of the Holy Land is bound to keep it in view during coming years. It is pursuing on a grand scale all the objects which it planned. First comes a general enquiry into the economical conditions of the country. This is carried out by its commission for the exploration of Palestine, appointed by

the Zionist congress at Basle in 1904, its organ being an excellent magazine called *Altneuland*. There is an experimental station in Athlit, near Haifa, a farm near Hattin on the Sea of Galilee, and a model farm, Duleika um el Jun, to the south of the lake. Secondly, as much valuable land as possible is to be acquired by the Jews, and made national property; it is to be planted with olive trees and let out to Jewish tenants. Thirdly, the building of schools of all grades is being pushed. There is in Jaffa a Hebrew college, and in Jerusalem a technical school to teach carpet-weaving and other trades. In the schools in the agricultural colonies, Hebrew is spoken and taught. Malaria is being methodically fought.

In the carrying out of this enormous program, the Zionist leaders are cleverly and successfully arousing the interest of Jews from all over the world. In every Zionist association the members pay a fixed assessment of one shilling towards the opening up of the country of their forefathers. It is admitted by the representatives of Zionism that the colonies established in Palestine by Baron Rothschild and other millionaires were a failure. They therefore wish now to proceed on scientific lines, and are astonishingly sure of success.

While the Muhammadans, like the Jews, form, at least outwardly, a single religious community, the Christians are split up by reason of their different sects, and, still more, by reason of their unyielding national prejudices. This want of union is most apparent in the contests for possession of the holy places, contests which have been going on for centuries and have become a public scandal.

The majority of the Christians belong to the Orthodox Greek Church, Arabic being the language generally spoken, though the superior clergy mostly come from the Greeks. Although the Church numbers at most 51,000 souls, 7,000 of whom live in Jerusalem, they are divided by this difference of language and nationality. Since each religious community in Turkey has to provide its own schools, the Greek Patriarch can use the schools he has established for the purpose of instilling the Greek language and culture into the Arab popula-

tion. On the other hand, the Russians cleverly make use of the national feeling of the Arab majority in the congregations to undermine the influence of the Greek clergy. They encourage the desire for a native Arab patriarch, because in him they hope to have a willing tool for the carrying out of their policy in the Near East. The Russian pilgrimages are very extensive, fully 10,000 pilgrims at a time often staying for months in Palestine, feeling in their simple, pious, yet bigoted souls the attraction of the holy places, to which they are led one after the other. Their presence is employed to the full by the Russian Palestine Association to push Russian interests. Side by side with the Orthodox Greeks the Armenians have hitherto held a leading position. Though only few in numbers (there are about 2,000 in Palestine, 1,000 of these being in Jerusalem), they are zealous and ready to undergo any deprivation in the fight for the holy places. Since they were impoverished by the dreadful occurrences in Armenia during the last decade, their influence in Jerusalem has waned. The rest of the Oriental Churches are only slightly represented. Thus there are about 150 Kopts, 100 Syrian Jacobites and 100 Abyssinians. But each of these religious bodies holds fast to its real or imaginary rights to the holy places.

To the onlooker the Oriental Churches present many points of similarity. In all of them public worship has hardened into endless ritualism and formalities in an unintelligible language. Whatever real religious power there is in them manifests itself in the fear of innumerable evil spirits, sorcerers, witches, the evil eye, and harmful influences, and in the reliance on counter magic, amulets, relics, in short on any magical influences and powers which can be mechanically used. Yet, at the same time, there is an undercurrent of desire for union with God, which they seek to gain not by religious or ethical means, but by convulsive movements, hypnotism, or other forms of exalted, abnormal spiritual condition. Veneration of the saints, and, in many cases, the worship of images and pictures, are rife among them. They thus present an altogether degenerate form of Christianity.

It is but a poor compensation that they possess grand and beautiful liturgical forms, and that some of the superior clergy are versed in the wisdom of the church fathers of their own respective Churches. Of the Roman Catholic congregations we have spoken in Chapter I, 4.

The weak Protestant Churches are also unfortunately not united. The Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem is at variance with the Church Missionary Society, the largest Protestant mission in the Holy Land. In Jerusalem, also, there is an independent company of American and Swedish Protestants, of peculiar religious views, known, from the name of their leader, as Spaffordites, and numbering about two hundred; but they do no mission work.

Nor do the German Protestants form a unified body. Most of them belong to the Templars, a body of Suabians who have gone to Palestine from chiliastic motives. Rev. Christoph Hoffmann, a talented but eccentric theologian, who regarded the State Church as a "corpse decked out with beautiful phraseology," and hopelessly lost, felt himself called to gather the faithful round the "banner of prophecy," and to "collect the people of God in Jerusalem to prepare the way for the coming of the Kingdom of God." He hoped to take a large number of believers to Palestine. After leaving the Württemberg State Church in 1859 and founding a community called the "German Temple," he established his first colony in Haifa. Colonies at Jaffa and Sarona were founded in the following years, and in 1878 a colony at Jerusalem. The difficulties which the colonists had to surmount were very great. Thanks to the Suabian persistency and ability with which Hoffmann entered upon his work, he has been successful, though not to the extent he had originally hoped. Economically, the existence of these Temple colonies seems to be assured. "They possess the best orchards and fields, they hold in their hands trade and commerce and the most important industrial undertakings."

In addition to these industrious and strenuous, though narrow-minded, templars, there are small congregations in

Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa, affiliated with the Prussian State Church, the congregation in Jerusalem being of special importance owing to the scientific institutions connected with it, which are under the patronage of the German Emperor.

On the whole, the religious condition of the Holy Land is deplorable. Stock, in his "History of the Church Missionary Society," says, "Religion has been for so many years political, and the Christians have been so pauperized by the immense sums spent on them by the Latin and Greek Churches, that few of them have an idea of anything beyond a mere external religion; while misrule and oppression have degraded the fellaheen to the level of cattle" (Vol. III, p. 518).

1. *The Beginnings of Protestant Missionary Work. The Anglo-Prussian Episcopate of Jerusalem*

(*a*) *The Mission of the American Board.* The first Protestant missionaries to come to Jerusalem were sent by the American Board, which occupied Jerusalem for twenty-three years (1821–1844) as a station for mission work among Oriental Christians and, at the same time, for a mission among the Jews. There were, however, months and even years in which there was no missionary of the Board there. Yet it was here that the Board gained its first experience in its unique work in the Near East. The chief branch of its work was the distribution of the Bible, which made it necessary for the missionaries to travel about a great deal, more so than was good for their health in the unaccustomed climate and in a land where the roads were bad and the means of conveyance uncomfortable. The mission had consequently much to suffer from the sickness and death of its members. One of the two pioneers, the Rev. Levi Parsons, died in 1822. Three years later he was followed by Pliny Fisk, that able and enthusiastic missionary. Twenty years after this, after other missions in the Near East had proved successful, the Board opened schools and a medical mission. But Dr. Dodge, who was sent out, died soon after his arrival, from over-exertion, while the schools suffered

much from opposition. Since, in the meantime, the Board's missions in Syria had become promising, and since Englishmen and Germans were attracted by the newly established episcopate of Jerusalem, the Board abandoned its work in Palestine in 1844. There had been no visible results of this patient labour on the part of the Americans; they had only been sowing the seed. Thousands of Bibles and portions of the Bible had been distributed, even in the remotest parts of Palestine, and a desire and demand for the Word of God and the truth of the Gospel had been awakened. Bishop Gobat "reaped" where the Americans had "sown." (*b*) The beginning of the *English Mission among the Jews.* While the Americans were engaged in more exploratory work, the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews commenced an extensive work in Jerusalem. This Society was founded in 1809, originally on an interdenominational basis; since 1815, however, it has been an almost exclusively Anglican effort. High hopes were entertained at the outset. The first step should be to gather the whole Jewish race into Palestine, and Jews must therefore be encouraged to immigrate; after that, mission work should be begun on a grand scale. Fortunately for the Society it had, in J. Nicolayson, an able and level-headed representative in Jerusalem from 1826 to 1856. A favourable time appeared to be coming for the mission, when from 1832 to 1840 the Egyptian rebel, Viceroy Muhammad Ali, was in power in Palestine, for his attitude towards the mission was friendly and tolerant. Advantage was taken of this opportunity, and the mission laid the foundations of the so-called Zion church, the first Protestant church in the Turkish dominions. It was unfortunate that it was not finished before 1840, for, when the Sultan succeeded, with the assistance of the European Powers, in recapturing Palestine, he followed an even stricter policy of repression than before. Thus the completion of the church was delayed by endless negotiations until 1849. In Nicolayson's time, and with his help, most of the large institutions were founded, that are so characteristic a feature of

this Society's work; the hospital in 1843, the first of its kind in the Near East; the industrial school for converts from among the Jews, intended to test the sincerity of their motives, as well as, after their baptism, to secure them a livelihood; the converts' home; even a training-school, which was temporarily (1843–1849) expanded into a mission college, as a central training-institution for converted Jews, who were to engage in mission work. All these various branches of the work were developing vigorously and seemed to require the guidance of a strong central authority. (*c*) *The Anglo-Prussian episcopate.* The establishment of an Anglo-Prussian episcopate in Jerusalem is one of the most interesting episodes of mission history in the Near East. Frederick William IV, the idealist King of Prussia, was the originator and motive power of this arrangement. He had four far-reaching thoughts which he hoped to see realized in this way. For one thing, his evangelical heart felt impelled to create in the midst of the petrified and degenerate Oriental Churches a centre of Protestant activity, the spirit of which should regenerate those Churches. He also wished to procure legal recognition and equal rights for the Protestants, scattered throughout Turkey, who, up to this time, had enjoyed no legal status. This he tried to effect by the means customary in Turkey, namely, through the authorization of an ecclesiastical supreme head. In the third place, he desired to provide for the Jewish Mission, which was at that time beginning to flourish, firm support and a secure centre of activity, and he hoped that the episcopate would afford such a centre. He held the opinion that a firmly established Jewish mission on a large scale in Jerusalem would attract the attention of all Jews. And, lastly, he particularly desired to unite the great Protestant Churches in common work for the spread of the Kingdom of God; a union of the Churches of England and Prussia, resting on the foundation of common church work, was his highest ideal.

Here were idealist plans and purposes enough, if the Jerusalem episcopate was really to become a thing of life, with an

intelligible, practical task. Yet still other hopes of a different character were entertained in Anglican circles, in connection with this arrangement. Study of the prophets had convinced the leaders of the Jewish Mission that the return of the Jews to Palestine was imminent. They planned, therefore, to found a Church in Palestine in connection with the Jewish Christian congregation, which had, with much labour, been gathered in Jerusalem. This Church was to be, indeed, Anglican in its organization, yet at the same time it was to be an independent Jewish Church. When, therefore, the European Powers had driven the Egyptian Viceroy, Muhammad Ali, out of Syria, it was hoped in England that, with the support of the government, which friends of the movement sought to gain, Palestine would now be thrown open to a general immigration of the Jews. Still another prospect opened out to the high church wing of the Church of England, when the project of Frederick William IV became known. They hoped that a union with the Church of Prussia would secure such predominance for the Church of England that the "historic episcopate" would be introduced into Prussia also, an idea that was, as is well known, sympathetically entertained by the Prussian king. And, lastly, there was thus a prospect that the "diocese of St. James" might be restored in Jerusalem. St. James the Just, the brother of our Lord, was *par excellence* the Apostle of the Circumcision. Only Jews had filled the episcopal throne of St. James up to the destruction of Jerusalem under Hadrian. This apostolate of the circumcision was now to be restored by the establishment of a specifically Jewish Christian episcopate in the Holy City, so that an "apostle to the Gentiles, such as, for instance, the Archbishop of Canterbury, might some day indite a new Epistle to the Hebrews."

These hopes and expectations are indicative of the thoughts and wishes entertained by Christian circles in Prussia and England in 1840. But, with this mixture of numerous and diverse motives before him, no one will be astonished that the practical result stood in no proportion to such expectations.

To be sure, the episcopate was an accomplished fact within a few months, but it was a specifically Anglican episcopate and Prussia's influence upon it was almost nil. Prussia enjoyed merely the honour of contributing £600 a year towards the salary of the bishop, and the right to appoint every alternate bishop, who must, however, be an Anglican.

The British crown appointed Salomo Alexander, a learned Jewish Christian, as the first bishop. He was a Polish Jew from Prussian Posen, and was at that time a professor in a college in London. But he died too soon to be able to display any great activity. As his successor, King Frederick William IV appointed Samuel Gobat, who had returned to Europe in shattered health, after his romantic activity in Abyssinia (cf. Chap. VI, B, 1), and was principal of a mission college in the island of Malta when Frederick William the Fourth's call came to him. He accepted it with joy. The history of his thirty-three years' episcopate (1846–1879) has proved that the King's choice was an excellent one. Whatever Protestant missionary work there is at the present time in the Holy Land is to be traced directly or indirectly to Bishop Gobat. His sane, impressive and determined personality enabled Protestant missions to take root in the stony soil of the neglected country. When Bishop Gobat arrived in Jerusalem in December, 1846, he encountered difficulties on every hand. Though "Bishop of Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia," he had but one parish in his diocese—Jerusalem, with its forty or fifty communicants; there were newly begun mission stations for Jews only in Jaffa and Safed. Outside Jerusalem, his task, therefore, was to create a Protestant people. But where? Mission work amongst the Muhammadans was, to begin with, out of the question, because of the suspicious vigilance of the Turkish government. And to have won converts from the Orthodox Greeks would have offended the high church party in England, who regarded the Greek Church as a sister, with equal ecclesiastical claims.

The labour of the Americans had spread some little knowledge of evangelical truth in the Holy Land, in spite of the

fact that the Romanists had induced the authorities to forbid the selling of Bibles and to order the burning of any copies that might be found. And now, since the oppressed Christians were always on the lookout for help from a powerful friend who could protect them against the Turks, the energetic action of Protestant England and Prussia attracted the attention of many. Bishop Gobat made use of these feeble and mixed motives. He engaged people who were able to read, without demanding of them that they should leave their own Churches, and commissioned them to go through the country reading the Bible and talking with the people about what had been read. The success of this scheme was surprising. As soon as these simple people opened their Bibles in the streets or public places in towns and villages, the people crowded round them to listen, and often showed signs of being touched. Individuals often came in the evening to the lodgings of Bible-readers, confessing their sins with tears in their eyes, and asking to be instructed in the way of salvation. There was a general movement throughout the country. People seemed to become aware of their deplorable ignorance and to long for the simple truth of the Bible. It was a favourable circumstance that just then the Sultan issued the firman of 1850, recognizing the Protestant Church, and giving it a legal status in his empire. Bishop Gobat was watching this movement from his quiet dwelling near David's Tower in Jerusalem. Hardly a week passed in which some petition or deputation did not arrive from one place or another in Palestine, asking for missionaries, teachers for the young, church buildings and Protestant schools. Nablus and Nazareth, Jaffa and Ramleh, Bethlehem and Ramallah, became centres of the movement. There were, to be sure, times when the contest raged fiercely. In 1848 Bishop Gobat received a letter signed by several Greek Christians in Nablus, declaring their resolve to leave their Church, since they were being kept in a state of ignorance. Bishop Gobat exhorted them not to take such a step without earnest consideration, yet he sent a missionary to them to enquire more closely into the state of things.

This man found four hundred Greeks ready to join the Protestants. Thereupon the Bishop decided to take them under his care. He quietly bought a house, which he arranged as a school for boys and girls, with quarters for the teachers in it. As soon as this became known in Nablus, the storm broke. Two of the leading Arab Protestants were thrown into prison and condemned to death, and Bishop Gobat rescued them only with difficulty, through the influence of the Governor of Jerusalem. But the Greeks had become alarmed and hesitated now to join the Protestant Church. Gobat's "Bible-school," however, flourished, and its teacher proved himself to be a steadfast man, on whom reliance could be placed. His opponents resorted to all manner of intrigue; they established opposition schools and searched the houses for Bibles, burning all they could discover, and fining the people who had possessed them. When these measures failed, the Greek Bishop excommunicated the refractory. But the people would not give way, nor could Bishop Gobat retire; he therefore decided to collect the excommunicated into a Protestant congregation. Throughout the Holy Land a similar development took place; but everywhere Bishop Gobat counselled patience. Yet when the people had been thrust out of their Churches, there was nothing left but to receive them into the Protestant Church and to form them into congregations. Almost more disquieting and threatening were opposition and disapproval in England. For his ever-extending charitable work he had to depend on the sympathy and support of English and German Christians. Now, if to many in the Church of England the whole of the Anglo-Prussian episcopate had been an offense, this forming of members of the Greek Orthodox Church into separate congregations was an abomination. For they were so blindly full of enthusiasm for the episcopal Greek Church, as to recognize in it a worthy sister of their own. In fact they felt themselves more nearly related to it than to the Evangelical Church of Germany. As a result, there occurred long and painful transactions, bitter accusation and unpleasant controversy in the press. Yet Bishop Gobat kept

steadfastly on his way; and even the bishops who were called on to give their decisions, had to acknowledge that he was in the right, when he gathered into congregations those who had been excommunicated from the Greek Church. The rupture in the Greek Church caused by the formation of Protestant congregations, on the one hand, and the long continued hostility of Anglicans, on the other, had the result of bringing the entire hopeful movement to a standstill. Those who had already been converted remained for the most part faithful, but conversions became year by year less frequent.

One of Bishop Gobat's tasks was the care of the Jewish Mission, on which the English friends of the episcopate laid great stress. Nor did he lack able assistants in his work, for the London Jewish Society placed their best men at his disposal. Thus he was enabled to found his "diocesan school," a well conducted boys' school, which still does good work in Jerusalem, directing its attention mainly to Jewish children. It was a time of quiet growth for the Jewish Mission. The only notable event was that the mission, in 1857, took over from the volunteer missionary, Miss Cooper, her girls' school and her industrial home for poor women; these institutions were now considerably enlarged.

2. The Mission of the Church Missionary Society

As soon as the first converts had attached themselves to Bishop Gobat, and had been by him received into the Protestant Church, he felt it to be his duty to make permanent provision for the supply of their spiritual needs; for, lacking this, the congregations could not flourish, and many would probably return to their old Church. He naturally turned first to the Church Missionary Society, in whose service he had been for twenty years, and with which he felt himself most closely related in faith and practice. He was the more encouraged to do this, since that Society had, almost from the time of its inception, been carrying on a mission work in the Near East. It was, however, this very fact that caused the Society to hesitate to grant the Bishop's request, for their work

in the Near East was about to be abandoned, after having accomplished but little, in spite of the large sums spent upon it and the able missionaries that had been employed in it. Yet the fact that it was the Holy Land in which they were asked to help, led the Society to comply with Bishop Gobat's request. In 1851 it renewed its work in the Near East, thus entering upon its second period of activity there. The history of the Church Missionary Society Mission in Palestine falls into two periods, each of about thirty years' duration, Bishop Gobat's death in 1879 being the dividing point. During the first period work was carried on on a small scale and with very limited means, being confined for twenty years to the two stations, Jerusalem and Nazareth. Apart from a few English missionaries, who always held the office of Secretary and to a certain extent managed the work, the members of the mission were Germans. These were able men, and their terms of service were extraordinarily lengthy, a circumstance which was of great importance, since the work demanded thorough local and personal acquaintance with all the difficulties connected with it.

Christian Fallscheer, of Württemberg, a locksmith by trade, came, in 1862, from the St. Chrischona Mission House to Jerusalem. After helping Bishop Gobat in the diocesan school on Mount Zion, he was sent by the Bishop to Nablus in 1864. Nablus is one of the most fanatical Moslem towns in Palestine. No European had been able to live there. In spite of all hindrances Fallscheer settled in the town, and, by his patience, gained a footing in it for the mission. He succeeded in building a church and parsonage, and opened the way for the lady missionaries who came. Thanks to his tact in dealing with the government, permission was granted to build a mission hospital. Little known or noticed outside Palestine, he was celebrated throughout that country for his hospitality and his liberality. In Nablus itself he won the respect of all, including the Muhammadans, by his humility and childlike piety. When he died, Christians and Moslems alike said with tears in their eyes, " Our father is dead and

we are orphans." Muhammadans even requested the honour of being permitted to carry his coffin from the church to the grave.

Johannes Zeller, a countryman of Fallscheer's, was a man of greater intellect and talent. He arrived before Fallscheer, in 1857. He laboured for twenty years in Nazareth, and for an equal period in Jerusalem. By his persevering energy, he, like Fallscheer in Nablus, developed the mission work in Nazareth. After years of labour, he experienced in 1871 the joy of witnessing the dedication of a church there, the building of which he himself had superintended. At his request, the Female Education Society founded in Nazareth an orphanage and several day-schools, which were afterwards transferred to the Church Missionary Society. Also at Zeller's invitation, a Scottish medical missionary settled in Nazareth and began a work, which was gradually extended. Zeller's interest was more and more centred in a task that had till then been neglected in Palestine, namely, the training of educated teachers. With a view to his being able to devote himself entirely to this work, he was removed to Jerusalem to take charge of the Bishop Gobat School, as well as to found a "Preparandi Institute" for teachers. In spite of frequent disappointments he had the joy of seeing many of his pupils turn out well; eight of them were ordained as preachers, after many years of successful teaching. During his stay of forty-six years in Palestine, Zeller had made the country his second home. Canon Tristram once said of Zeller that he was the only European who could venture to pass through the whole of Palestine without a military escort. He was known everywhere, and was distinguished from Greek and Latin priests as the "priest of the Book." Canon Tristram once told a sheikh that Zeller was his friend and brother, to which the reply came, "Then you, too, are one of the Bible Christians!" In his seventy-first year, in the summer of 1901, Zeller left Palestine to return to his home in Germany. On the 19th of February, 1902, heart-failure put an end to his laborious life.

Theodore Friedrich Wolters was sent to Smyrna in 1860, and held this station quite alone for the Church Missionary Society till 1876. He was then removed to Palestine, where he engaged in pastoral work, chiefly in Jaffa, for thirty years, until 1907. He was president of the "Native Church Council."

A. F. Klein was the missionary who, with Dr. Sandreczky, began the Church Missionary Society Mission in Palestine in 1851. He became renowned in Europe in 1868 by his discovery of the famous Moabite stone. When the Church Missionary Society had to restrict its work in 1878, for want of means, Klein was recalled to Europe, but later, in 1882, he had the honour of beginning the mission of the Church Missionary Society in Egypt. He died in England on the 1st of December, 1903.

The end of the seventies was a critical time in the history of the Church Missionary Society Mission in Palestine. Bishop Gobat's advanced age placed the question before the directing board, whether, at his death, the Church Missionary Society should take over his entire mission work as he proposed. Against such a course was the feeble financial condition of the Society; and even more threatening was the animosity of the ritualists, who regarded with disfavour Bishop Gobat's "proselytizing" among members of the Oriental Churches. There was to be an extremely painful public discussion between the Church Missionary Society and its opponents. We must anticipate the course of events. Upon the death of Bishop Gobat, the British crown appointed as Bishop of Jerusalem *Joseph Barclay*, formerly a missionary among the Jews. Unfortunately he died two years later. After his death there was no bishop appointed for several years, since Prussia, to whom the nomination now fell, could not find in Germany a suitable Anglican clergyman to represent its interests in Palestine. Finally the agreement between England and Prussia was cancelled. England now appointed G. F. P. Blyth, a high churchman, as bishop, a man who had little sympathy with the evangelical Church Missionary

Society. He insisted that the priest should turn to the east during the saying of the creed, that lighted candles should be on the altar, that wine should be mixed with water at the eucharist, that the celebration of the eucharist should be only in the morning, and the like. It was painful to see a man with such ideals at the head of the English Protestant Mission in Palestine. Violent collision with the Church Missionary Society was inevitable. In December, 1890, the Bishop, in his "primary charge," accused the Church Missionary Society missionaries of inexcusable proselytism among the Oriental Churches, and claimed the management of the entire missionary work. A conference of Anglican bishops held an enquiry, and their verdict was essentially in favour of the Church Missionary Society. Bishop Blyth had, in addition, minor complaints, and made the following charges:—(1) that he was not a member of the Missionary Conference in Palestine; (2) that the missionaries presented to him for confirmation persons who had in infancy received the "chrism" of the Greek Church after baptism; (3) that the Church Missionary Society was guilty of "proselytism." The Conference of Bishops gave it as their opinion (1) that the bishop's membership in the Missionary Conference was not desirable, as being scarcely consistent with the dignity of his position, and they recommended that he should rather summon a diocesan synod, which would be attended both by Church Missionary Society missionaries and by other clergy; (2) that the bishop ought not to refuse confirmation to those who intelligently and conscientiously desired it; (3) that the charge of proselytism had not been proved; it appeared, rather, that this was altogether contrary to the instructions issued by the Church Missionary Society (Stock, "History of the Church Missionary Society," Vol. III, pp. 523 ff.).

Bishop Blyth did not give way. There was therefore the unedifying spectacle in Jerusalem of two parties in the Anglican Church, working on different principles. Bishop Blyth was merely the representative of the views and feelings of the ritualists, who were gaining more and more influence in

England. The Church Missionary Society had always to be careful not to give offense. Quite apart from this friction, mission work among Oriental Christians in Palestine, and the care of the congregations of converts, were a difficult and not very promising task. Rev. C. T. Wilson, the well-known missionary in Uganda, who was at that time working in Palestine, characterized the situation in a report in which he said, "The conviction is growing stronger that the day of gracious visitations is rapidly coming to an end for the Christians of this country. This applies only to the Greek Christians, for they are almost the only ones who have come under the influence of the mission. The Roman clergy hold their flock so firmly that no unwelcome influences can touch them. For instance, one often hears that the Roman priests tell their people that it is much better for people to be Moslems than Protestants, an evidence of a bigotry unknown among the Greeks. But in spite of many points of contact between us and the Greeks, the Gospel has made little progress among them in the last years. We seem to have reached a point beyond which we cannot go. It is true that our schools still dispel ignorance of divine truth, break the charms of superstition and prejudice and lighten the yoke of priestly domination. But such enlightenment does not lead, in by far the most cases, to true conversion. It can quite well rest in the same heart side by side with unbounded veneration of the Greek Church and observance of superstitious customs. We are as far as ever from a reformation of this Church." So there was a strong inclination for some years to restrict the work as much as possible. One of the first steps in this direction was the recalling of several able missionaries, such as A. F. Klein. But just at that time a change became apparent in the circles of the Church Missionary Society, which was destined to have a great effect on the mission in Palestine. In 1875 General Lake, an influential member of the Church Missionary Society committee, called a conference of Church Missionary Society missionaries among Muhammadans. At this conference he set forth with emphasis the problems and

tasks awaiting this practically new branch of their work. Unfortunately, Lake died before any definite conclusion had been arrived at, so that the whole movement, initiated by him, was threatened with extinction. Yet the Church Missionary Society recognized that Palestine was a strategic land for such an undertaking among Muhammadans. The Society accordingly abandoned their plan of restricting the work, and, at Bishop Gobat's death, took over the whole of his mission, including, in addition to some schools in Ramleh, Lydda and elsewhere, his diocesan school in Jerusalem, the important station at Nablus, and, above all, the German missionaries, who were so thoroughly acquainted with the country. In thus determining, however, to engage in work in Palestine on a large scale, and with a considerable force, the Society felt the necessity of giving its work a different form, to correspond with the new purpose which it held. Hitherto, under Bishop Gobat's influence, the Society had engaged almost exclusively in mission work among the Greek Christians, and in the care of the congregations formed from among them; now it must methodically organize a mission among Muhammadans. The new era in the work of the mission was introduced in three ways; first of all, by an energetic extension of the work over the whole of Palestine. Es-Salt, east of the Jordan, in the ancient Gilead, had been for ages an autonomous town, which, however, paid tribute to Turkey. When, in 1866, the Turkish government in Damascus extended its authority in this direction and placed a Turkish garrison in Es-Salt, Bishop Gobat sent a Syrian catechist thither. A Jesuit Mission also made its appearance there, and by bribery induced many Greek Christians to join the Church of Rome. Bishop Gobat had only Christian truth to offer, yet he gained a footing, and the congregation grew to be one of the most promising in the Holy Land. It was necessary, however, that a missionary should be stationed there, and, the Bishop not having such an one at his disposal, the station was transferred in 1873 to the Church Missionary Society. To the northeast, further inland, in the rocky district of Hauran, the Church Missionary

Society took over several schools for Druse children, which, however, had to be abandoned on account of Turkish intolerance. In Gaza, formerly one of the cities of the Philistines, and at present the second largest town in Palestine, lying on the caravan route to Egypt, Pritchet, an Englishman, had established schools as a part of his "Philistine Mission," which he was glad to hand over to the Church Missionary Society in 1878. In Kerak, the ancient Kir in the land of Moab, a Wesleyan, named Lethaby, began an independent mission in 1883, which, however, he had not sufficient means to carry on, especially as the Turkish authorities were continually throwing new obstacles in his way. Although the place was only about one hundred miles from Jerusalem, it was difficult to reach; yet the Church Missionary Society took it over in 1894. It was hard work. The Turkish Governor was determined that missions should not succeed; for months he placed a soldier on sentry duty at the gates of the settlement, to prevent the entrance of any Moslem. The schools were also closed through the intrigues of the leaders of the Greek Church. But patient perseverance overcame all these obstacles. As the great caravan road of the Mecca pilgrims, the darb i haj, and the new Hejaz Railway pass close to Kerak, the latter is a very suitable centre from which to itinerate. Yet lack of funds has compelled the Society to abandon the station. At Acca, on the coast, the Church Missionary Society established a station in 1890, with the purpose of reaching the leaders of the Babist movement, who had been banished to that town.

In Bethlehem, Nazareth and Shefa Amr the Female Education Society had for decades flourishing girls' boarding-schools. These, too, were subsequently transferred to the Church Missionary Society (1902).

In this way the work of the Church Missionary Society grew into a spreading tree, its branches reaching from Gaza in the south to Nazareth in the north, from Jaffa in the west to Es-Salt and Kerak in the land east of the Jordan, thus

casting its shadow over the whole of the Holy Land. This local extension was accompanied by a growth of internal power, the result of the addition of two new and important agencies, namely, the work of lady missionaries and medical mission work.

The Keswick Conferences had been asked by the missionaries in Palestine to send lady missionaries, and, after 1887, these came in ever-increasing numbers, thirty in the six years between 1888 and 1894, thirteen of them at their own charges. The mission received a new impulse from the coming of these ladies. They established day-schools and boarding-schools for girls, were indefatigable in visiting the homes of the people in town and country, and endeavoured in every conceivable way to gather round themselves groups of neglected women and girls. Sometimes the women were astonished at their procedure. "What do you want to teach us?" asked one Moslem woman. "We are after all only goats and asses." And visiting from house to house is indeed trying enough work.

"Picture to yourself a courtyard, which is entered by a shattered door, and, round this court, perhaps from five to seven houses. A native house means merely one big, windowless room, and living in it the father and mother and one or two generations following. In the summer time the women, when not engaged in the fields or vineyards, congregate together in a courtyard to do their daily household work, such as sifting the corn, cleaning the grain, basket work, cooking, mending their one garment, combing their hair, and so forth. A Felahat (village woman) rarely sits idle, but, true to her Eastern nature, all her work is done in a leisurely fashion. Into this court the missionary enters, Bible in hand, ready to speak to any one she may find, and as she enters her eye gladly and quickly sees a little group of women sitting quietly together in the centre of the court, and she is apt to think what an especially good opportunity has fallen to her; but after she has been speaking a few minutes, and the women seem to be listening, and she is anxious to drive the lesson

home, suddenly the quiet and attention are broken by the shrill scream of a cock, repeated and repeated, and the hens, not behindhand, begin to cackle, and all the little chickens fly first over one, then over another. Then the dogs start barking, for some Gipsy or other has come to beg a piece of bread, or a neighbour wants to buy some eggs, or to borrow a sieve or spoon. And then the donkeys who up to now have stood quietly tied in the court, begin to bray alternately, or some horse neighs, and, as the afternoon wears on, the husbands and the elder boys return from the fields, bringing with them herds of goats and sheep and oxen, and the whole little company must get up in order to make room for them to enter the one-roomed dwelling, where a place is provided for them beneath the dwelling-room of the family above. By the time we settle down again, the thread is broken, and the children must needs cry, and the women have only a scattered recollection of what has been said" (*Proceedings*, 1897, p. 178). Female education is, however, undergoing a slow but steady change for the better. The people are sending their girls to learn to read, write and do needlework. In former days they said it was not a good thing for girls to learn to read, for then they would be able to read the men's secrets ; that arithmetic was not needed by them, as they would never have to keep shop ; and that they did not require to know any geography, because they would never travel.

Of still greater importance, perhaps, has been the introduction of the medical mission work, which has been carried on with great zeal since 1881. The native doctors are as incompetent as elsewhere in the Near East. Copious bleeding, accomplished by biting with the teeth, if there is no knife at hand, burning with a red-hot piece of iron and other such drastic measures are their favourite treatment. At first, however, people distrusted the simple medicines of the missionaries. To make sure that they were not poisonous, they generally tried the effect of a dose on a dog. Or a blind man would, before an operation on the eye, solemnly curse the cross to ward off sorcery. Yet the calm, patient, self-denying work

of the missionary triumphed at length over all such prejudices. The medical mission made its way. A single hospital had, in one year, 1,200 in-patients and 30,000 out-patients. In the consulting room, in the wards, or standing in the open with his medicine chest beside him, while on his tours, the medical missionary found suitable opportunities for scattering the seed of life in receptive and willing hearts. On such occasions even fanatical Moslems will listen to much, which, if spoken in any other place, or by any other person, would fill them with rage.

The largest mission hospital of the Church Missionary Society is in Nablus, the ancient Shechem, which is, as we have seen, one of the most fanatical Muhammadan towns. It was there that the fanatical mob was on the point of storming the mission settlement in 1895. But it is just this fanaticism that the kindness of the medical missionary is able to overcome. In 1901 a fine new hospital was opened, which has since been enlarged so that it has sixty beds. This institution has had a very quieting influence. Gaza is a scarcely less fanatical town. Here for many years Canon Sterling, who is also a physician, made use of a stuffy house of native pattern as a hospital. But in 1907 a new hospital, with all the modern appliances, was opened there, with a medical missionary at its head. Also in Es-Salt and in Acca the Church Missionary Society has stationed medical missionaries, but as yet native houses have to serve as hospitals. In Kerak, too, many patients have been treated by means of dispensaries.

The educational work has not kept step with the medical mission. Since Bishop Gobat's time there has been keen competition on the part of the Turkish government, and of the Greek and Roman Churches. This limits the need as well as the possibility of opening Church Missionary Society schools. The original "Bishop Gobat's School" in Jerusalem developed into a boarding-school for boys, a college (1905), and a "Preparandi Institute," to which was attached a divinity school for candidates for ordination. Latterly the institute has been closed. A boarding-school for girls was opened in 1892, and, in 1902, was combined with the girls'

boarding-school which was taken over from the Female Education Society, the entire institution being removed to Bethlehem. Many of the Church Missionary Society stations have also boys' and girls' schools; in all fifty-four schools, attended by about 3,000 pupils. There are also some small boarding-schools and orphanages.

It has been of great advantage to the work of the Church Missionary Society in the last twenty years that the staff of missionaries has been greatly strengthened. Until 1880 it had consisted merely of German missionaries, with one or two Englishmen at their head. Now there are working in Palestine fourteen missionaries, five of whom are medical missionaries, and thirty-one lady missionaries.

The Church Missionary Society has at present seven main stations and a large number of permanent or temporary outstations, which are for the most part served by lady missionaries. The members of the congregations number 2,323, having doubled since Bishop Gobat's death in 1879. Most of these are from the Greek Church. It cannot be said how many of them are converted Muhammadans.

In 1905, the Church Missionary Society organized the native congregations according to its "Church Council System" of church organization. Since there is such a tendency on the part of the church-members in Palestine to make large demands on the mission, it will be particularly difficult here to educate the people in the matter of autonomy, and especially in the matter of self-support.

The Church Missionary Society is the foremost society in Palestine in mission work among Muhammadans, both in the extent of the work, and in the thoroughness of its organization. It may, therefore, justly claim the right to be heard, especially when a man like the Rev. T. F. Wolters, who has served in Palestine for thirty years, pronounces judgment. "It is true that the medical missionaries are breaking down the fence of social separation between Muhammadans and Christians and that medical men and nurses have precious opportunities of pressing the claims of Christ upon Moslems of

all classes, and of establishing bonds of friendship, more or less sincere, with their patients. But all this is as yet strictly confined to 'medical work.' An ordained missionary, whether European or native, soon finds that his efforts to reach the people are limited by barriers which have not been broken down. A catechist, employed to follow up cases that have been in the hospital by visits to the villages from which these cases come, has often told me how exceedingly limited even his work is. An occasional visit may be satisfactory, but, as soon as it is repeated, say once a month, the people retire and will have nothing to say to their visitor. Whether the 'day of visitation' for the Moslem has come or not, the hard fact, as far as my observation and experience lead me to judge, is that the Moslem is still very far from being accessible to direct effort, except when he is under medical care" (*Proceedings*, 1905, p. 146).

Rev. C. T. Wilson gives a slightly more optimistic report. He says:—"As to the work among the Muhammadans, it would seem as if the day of grace were about to break. Our medical missions remove prejudices, overcome opposition, and open a way to many hearts that have been hitherto closed to the truth. There is, therefore, no lack of blessing or encouragement. But the red of dawn must not be mistaken for the full light of day. Our experiences can again point to the fact that, before the day can come, many social and political limitations have to be removed which hinder Moslems from making an open confession of faith. How and when this will come to pass, no one can say. It may cost hot conflict, it may happen overnight. Who knows? Grateful for the dawn, we are waiting patiently until God reveals His purposes of grace." It must be added that Palestine is the most stony ground which missions among Muhammadans are trying to cultivate, because religious rancour, encouraged as it is by the suspicious policy of the Turkish authorities, is so deeply rooted there.

We may here refer to the work done in Palestine by various English, Scottish and American societies. First, we must com-

plete the history of the London Jewish Society. In this mission occurred a romantic but disturbing episode when the convert Z. H. Friedlaender (1873–1886), in connection with the immigration of Jews from Roumania, which was strong at that time, pursued national Jewish schemes, in this way endeavouring to gain Jews in great numbers. At that time (1883) the "Jewish Refugees' Aid Society" was founded in England. This society had considerable sums at its disposal, with which it liberally supported Jews emigrating to Palestine, establishing an agricultural colony in Artuf, which lies midway between Jerusalem and Jaffa. When, later on, still greater contributions were coming in from rich Jews, most of Friedlaender's adherents left him, and he himself had to be dismissed from the service of the mission on account of certain irregularities. Jerusalem is the only station of the mission that has a comparatively large number of converts. In 1886 there were 217 Protestant Christians, who had been born Jews. In eight years 692 people were baptized. At present there are only about seventy members in the congregation, since very few of the converts can earn a living in Jerusalem after they have been baptized, and most of them are, therefore, compelled to leave the city in order to find employment. Extensive missionary work is being done here. First, there is the large mission hospital. Founded in 1872, especially for the benefit of the Jewish population of the city, it was conducted for half a century mainly as a philanthropic institution, without any great accentuation of its missionary character. In 1897, a new hospital was built on the Heights of Godfrey in the suburbs, consisting of three main buildings and three isolated wards. Two English doctors form the medical staff. About one thousand Jews are received as in-patients every year, and their religious scruples regarding food and customs are considered. There are also an Industrial Home, in which candidates for baptism are employed during a period of probation and strengthening of their faith; a boys' and a girls' school for both boarders and day-scholars; refuges for male and female enquirers; and a

bookstore near Christ Church, which is the centre of the whole system. Thus Jerusalem is one of the best-equipped stations of the Jewish mission in the world. The same society has stations at Jaffa and Safed. In Jaffa, which was temporarily occupied in 1845 before it was made a permanent station in 1882, there is but a small congregation, provided with a church. But in Safed there is a hospital with a dispensary, a girls' school, a night-school for boys and for girls, and a bookstore.

In addition to this society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, special mention must be made of the United Free Church of Scotland, which is working among the Jews of Palestine. In 1884, the mission of this Church occupied Tiberias, a town full of filth, yet held sacred by the Jews, where Dr. Torrance still continues his labours with much patience. Within the last few years he has built a new and roomy mission hospital on a fine site overlooking the Sea of Galilee. The society has also schools for Jews in Safed, which are managed by the missionaries in Tiberias. A still more important point has been gained by the occupation of the fanatical town of Hebron. Here Dr. Patterson, a medical missionary, is stationed, and holds his own in spite of all opposition. He has established a dispensary, which is much visited, and a temporary hospital with ten beds, which it is hoped will soon be followed by a larger and more suitable building. A few Mildmay deaconesses also worked for a time among the Jews in Hebron, opening a dispensary. Altogether there are only slightly more than one hundred and fifty baptized Jews in the Holy Land; these form, however, but a small portion of the Jews that have become Protestants, for very many more have emigrated to escape persecution.

Working among the Oriental Christian population there are also a number of small societies, which cannot become really effective on account of their isolation. We name such as are known to us in geographical order. In Judea there is the private work of the Anglican Bishop Blyth in Jerusalem,

where he has built, outside the Damascus gate, a number of houses with a highly ornamented church. There he himself resides and maintains large boarding- and day-schools for boys and girls, in which also higher education is imparted. His teaching staff consists of seven Europeans and twelve natives. Of course no proselytizing is permitted among the Greek Orthodox children. The schools are very popular, particularly because English is well taught in them.

Further, the English Order of St. John has an ophthalmic hospital in Jerusalem. Agents of the American Christian and Missionary Alliance have also been working there since 1894; at first there were some American lady missionaries, an ordained missionary, the Rev. Mr. Thompson, coming later. They have a small chapel in Jerusalem, in which regular services are held, also schools in Jerusalem, Hebron, Ain Karim and Jaffa. Ramallah, about ten miles from Jerusalem, where the Church Missionary Society has a considerable congregation and a well-manned out-station, is the centre of the work of the American Friends (since 1876), who have a boarding-school for boys and one for girls, and a small congregation of about seventy souls, as well as schools in the neighbouring villages of Ain Arik, Jifna and et Tayyibeh.

In 1863, Miss Walker Arnott, of the so-called "Tabitha Mission," founded a girls' school in Jaffa. The school building is a massive structure, and the school is attended by 185 girls. Evangelistic work is also carried on.

The Jaffa Medical Mission was begun in Jaffa in 1878 by an English lady, Miss Morgan. A hospital was built in 1882. This work was continued by Miss Newton, chiefly at her own cost. The hospital has fifty beds, an English doctor being at the head of it. In Lydda, close by, there is a branch dispensary. Miss Newton died in the autumn of 1908, leaving the hospital and its equipment to the Church Missionary Society, which now carries on the work there.

In the centre of the country, in fanatical Nablus, the English Baptists have gathered a congregation of 129 members under a native preacher. In Haifa Bishop Blyth has a well-

equipped station; there is a church, built by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with an English and an Arab clergyman, a hospital with one doctor and twenty-two beds, schools for boys and for girls, and a lady missionary, who works especially among Jews. There does not seem to be any native congregation. In Nazareth, the Armenian, Dr. Vartan, began work under the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society in 1866. He and his wife cared for the sick, in quarters that were very confined and quite unsuitable, being simply rented native dwellings. He also travelled much about the country with his case of medicines. He died on the 3d of December, 1908.

The first attempt to build a hospital on European lines was defeated by the machinations of the Turkish authorities, but recently Dr. Scrimgeour, a Scottish medical missionary, went to Nazareth, and a stately modern hospital has been erected. The Board of Directors of the Syrian Protestant Orphanage has built a branch orphanage on a good site on a hill outside Nazareth (1908).

In addition to all this we read now and then, in mission reports, of smaller undertakings, which are presumably of only a transitory nature; of a Jewish mission, "Ammiel," in Haifa, which strives to gain Jews by accommodating itself as far as possible to their customs; of the efforts of the Sabbatists to propagate their peculiar views by means of hydropathic establishments; and of various independent missionaries, both men and women.

3. *German Missionary Work in the Holy Land*[1]

It was not only English friends that Bishop Gobat invited to work in this hard, stony ground; he also expected German

[1] "Geschichte der Deutschen evangelischen Kirche und Mission im Heiligen Lande," Guetersloh, 1898. Pflanz, "Verlassen, nicht vergessen. Das Heilige Land und die evangelische Liebesarbeit," Neuruppen, 1903. Periodicals: the Jerusalem Union, *Neuste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande, Evangelische Blaetter aus Bethlehem;* the Syrian Orphanage, *Bote aus Zion;* the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Homes, *Dank und Denkblaetter.*

Protestants to help. It is a proof of the greatness of Gobat's character that he liked to have others working at his side, even though their methods did not always please him. And in Germany, too, there was a joyful response to his invitation, for evangelical Christians here also were strongly attracted by the sacred memories attaching to the Holy Land.

(*a*) *The Jerusalem Union.* In 1844 and 1845 Dr. F. A. Strauss, a young curate, who was afterwards to be an influential court chaplain, undertook a tour through the Holy Land, and, on his return, while the impressions he had received were still vivid, wrote his much-read "Sinai und Golgatha." After that he was untiring in his endeavours to interest the Prussian State Church in German Protestant missionary undertakings in the Holy Land. On the 2d of December, 1853, the Jerusalem Union (Jerusalems-Verein) was founded for the purpose of supporting Protestant institutions and German congregations in the Near East. This Union grew slowly; even after five years its income did not exceed £200. But after the number of German travellers to the East had increased, and particularly after the German Emperor's visit in 1898, the Union took a new lease of life and has now an income of £7,000 at its disposal. Bishop Gobat liked to make use of this Union for the carrying out of his plans, and, in 1860, handed over to its care the congregation at Bethlehem, into which he had gathered converted Greeks. When, in 1887 and 1888, Pastor Ludwig Schneller, a son of the founder of the Syrian Orphanage, known far and wide in Germany by his interesting books on Bible lands, became the minister of this Bethlehem congregation, he set about collecting £1,500 in Germany for the building of a church in the town of the nativity. With this money in hand he began, in 1887, to build an exceedingly attractive church, which he called the "Christmas Church." As was usual, especially in the case of new churches, the Turkish authorities caused needless delay, so that the church could not be consecrated before the 6th of November, 1893, and even then only because the German Empress had personally urged the Sultan to issue the necessary

firman. The Protestant congregation in Bethlehem now numbers one hundred and fifty baptized members. In 1879 a second Protestant Arab congregation was formed in the large and almost entirely Christian village of Beit Jala, close to Bethlehem, which has also, in the main, had a pleasing growth, and now numbers one hundred and forty baptized members. In 1884 the Union endeavoured to extend its work to the fanatical town of Hebron, where there is a small, but influential congregation of Greek Christians. Here the Union met with fierce opposition, and has only a very limited work, carried on by a native catechist. When, in 1895 and 1896, the Armenians were suffering the fearful massacres, the Union was ready to reach a helping hand, and established in 1898, near Bethlehem, an "Armenian Orphanage," into which they received fifty of the unfortunate children. The house was solidly built, since it was to be permanently used as a training-school, in which boys belonging to Oriental and Protestant Churches might receive a free education of a simple but thorough character. Inasmuch as the Turkish government subsequently prohibited the introduction of Armenian children into Palestine, it is chiefly children of natives of Palestine and Syria who are received into this institution. In 1899 twenty-four families living in Beit Sahur, near the so-called "Shepherds' field," left the Greek for the Protestant Church, and were taken under the spiritual care of the Jerusalem Union. Here a building for a boys' and a girls' school, with quarters for the teachers, is being erected. As so often happens in the Near East, the converts, feeling themselves disappointed in their unreasonable expectations, first quarrelled, and then for the most part fell away.

Encouraged thereto by Bishop Scheele, Swedish friends of the Holy Land sent a doctor to Bethlehem in 1904, who soon had many applications from sick people of all confessions, so that there is prospect of a hospital's being built.

Thus, amid many difficulties and disappointments, the work of the Jerusalem Union in and around Bethlehem has grown. At present there are about three hundred and forty Arab

Protestants under its care. But the last few years have been particularly full of difficulties. On the 23d of July, 1903, the able leader of the work, Pastor Immanuel Böttcher, was drowned while on a tour in Moab. It was only after a long interval that a successor could be sent out.

Meanwhile violent dissensions broke out in the small congregation. This was partly the result of bitter feuds between influential families, but to a greater extent it was caused by the dissatisfaction of the members, most of whom were poor, with the behaviour of the mission board at home, from which they thought they did not receive sufficient support. It is a fact that Christians of all confessions in Palestine have been spoiled by the competition among foreign governments and Churches in the effort to win them, so that all benefits bestowed are accepted as a matter of course. And, if one congregation is thought to be treated more generously, the others at once become jealous.

The Jerusalem Union has another work, in addition to this trying labour among the Protestant Arab congregations. Several families of templars in Jaffa and Haifa, desiring to return to the Prussian State Church, have sought to enter into connection with it through the agency of the Union. German immigrants arrived, also, who required to be cared for spiritually. So it came about that a German Protestant congregation was established in Haifa in 1882, and a similar congregation in Jaffa in 1892. Since then each has been placed on an independent footing, having its own minister, church, school, teachers and deaconesses. The congregation in Haifa numbers 178, and that in Jaffa 121 German members.

(*b*) *The Syrian Orphanage.* In Basle Bishop Gobat had formed a friendship with Father Spittler, the founder of the St. Chrischona Mission near that city. One of Spittler's favourite projects was the establishment of a brotherhood in Jerusalem, "in the way the Moravians are accustomed to begin their missions, in order that the poorer people there may have a living example of how Christians live with one

another, praying and working, showing love to their neighbours and seeking to help them in word and deed." His agents were to live as workmen, not as missionaries, and to earn their bread by the work of their own hands. This brotherhood was established in Jerusalem in 1846. Later it was brought into connection with the grand plan of the "apostles' road" to Abyssinia. For this road Jerusalem was to be the point of departure. This plan was never fully carried into execution (cf. Chap. VI, B, 2); in fact, after Spittler's death in 1867, it was altogether abandoned. Yet the brotherhood has been the means of bringing many able men to Palestine. Among the first missionaries whom Spittler sent in 1846, was Palmer, who later became principal of Bishop Gobat's Diocesan School in Jerusalem, where he remained until 1889. Then there was Baurat Schick, well known to all visitors in Jerusalem as an archæologist; he died in December, 1901. And, in 1854, Father Ludwig Schneller was sent to Jerusalem. *Ludwig Schneller*[1] was born on the 15th of January, 1820, in Erpfingen, situated in the Swabian Alb in the neighbourhood of the celebrated castle of Lichtenstein. His parents were poor peasants. They had no thought of his becoming anything but a peasant like themselves, and they therefore set him to work at an early age in field and stable. But in this peasant family there lived the memory of grandparents who, in 1734, had, with other Salzburg emigrants, left their home in the Salzach valley, facing poverty for conscience' sake. The memory awakened in the heart of the boy a desire to help in the spreading of the evangelical faith, instead of devoting his life to the stony ground of the Swabian Alb. But how to set about it? His parents could not afford to send him to the higher schools. Yet even at that age he showed the persistency of purpose which characterized him in later years. He spent every available moment with his books. The village minister, recognizing the ability of the lad, gave him private lessons in

[1] Schneller, "Vater Schneller, ein Patriarch der evangelischen Mission im Heiligen Lande," Leipsic, 1898.

Latin, Scripture and history, the school-teacher helping also in other branches of learning.

At an early age he went in for the Württemberg teachers' examination, which he passed with distinction. In his twenty-seventh year he was called by Spittler to be the head teacher and manager of the St. Chrischona Mission House.

In 1854, Father Spittler appointed him to superintend the brotherhood in Jerusalem. The missionaries who were to be sent to Abyssinia from St. Chrischona, were first to take a practical course in Jerusalem, under Schneller's supervision.

On the abandonment of the "apostles' road," Schneller felt impelled to begin work among the native Arab population of Palestine. There was plenty of work waiting for him. Within the walls of Jerusalem was the Church Missionary Society Mission, but outside the gates of the city, in the heights and in the valleys of the mountains of Judea, the great mass of the native population lived, and it had not been reached. It was to them that Schneller decided to go. So he bought a high-lying plot of ground about half an hour's walk to the northwest of the city, intending to settle there. The carrying out of his plan demanded all the courage of his faith. He and his wife lived at that time much as the Beduins of the desert live. Where to-day one sees the wide and pleasant gardens of the Syrian Orphanage, there was at that time nothing but a dreary wilderness of rock. Here they lived in miserable sheds made of the boughs of trees, dwellings that a gust of wind could easily overturn, their next-door neighbours being foxes and hares, jackals and hyenas, which often mingled their howling with the hymns the Schnellers were singing. In addition to their house, they had a "dining-room" and a "kitchen," both likewise huts. At last, before the rainy season set in with its hurricane winds and heavy downpours, a few rooms were got ready for habitation in a solidly-built house. Soon, however, the Schnellers were to be unexpectedly reminded that they were exposed to the attacks of predatory neighbours. As Schneller was returning home from the city in company with one of

the missionaries, his companion and he himself were beaten and robbed, being even stripped of their clothing.

But in the following spring he calmly went on building his house, finishing it that year. On the night in which he entered his new home, he was attacked by robbers. The windows were smashed in, the doors broken with stones, and seven robbers armed with swords and guns burst into his room. Schneller was bidden, with a sword at his breast, to hold a light till they had taken all the clothes and articles of furniture. Finding little money, they struck him several times on the back with a sword, in order to terrorize him into giving them more money, which the poor man did not possess. Schneller lay there bleeding, and the robbers left at last, taking with them plunder amounting to some 9,000 piastres in value. Fortunately one of the robbers could be recognized, and he was sentenced to pay compensation. Hardly half a year later, in the night preceding the day on which the sum was to be paid, the robbers came again, this time contemplating murder. Schneller was compelled to shoot at them, for he had a wife and child to defend. His shooting had the desired effect. Surprised, and also slightly wounded, the robbers left the house. Those were dark days. The Schnellers had to leave the house they had entered in such courageous spirit, and take refuge within the walls of the city.

Ludwig Schneller's plans took a new and decisive turn when thousands of widows and orphans were made by the Syrian massacres of 1860. When, at that time, a cry of pity was sounding throughout Christian Europe, Schneller hurried into Syria, and, collecting Maronite orphans, took them to Jerusalem, founding there the Syrian Orphanage outside the city. Such was the unpretentious origin of what, through the indefatigability and pedagogic skill of its founder, was to become in a few decades the most important Protestant institution in the Holy Land. It grew only slowly, yet surely, like a tough-timbered tree in stony soil. It would fatigue the reader to be told in detail of the addition of house after house, and of department after department. Suffice it to say that Father

Schneller himself conducted the institution in patriarchal fashion until his death on the 18th of October, 1896, and that the work has since been continued by his son, the Rev. Theodor Schneller, in the same spirit. Those first Maronite orphans left the orphanage of course, in about ten years, making room for a greater and greater number of poor boys from Palestine, Syria and neighbouring countries. To-day, counting teachers and overseers, the orphanage harbours more than five hundred people, thus forming a respectable settlement by itself.

Ludwig Schneller's main object was to give the children, most of whom were bitterly poor and destitute, a solid education, calculated to fit them for gaining a living. Accordingly, in addition to the ordinary subjects, he gave them a practical technical training in all manner of handicrafts, the teaching being done by skilled artificers from Germany; he thus opened workshops for tailoring, boot-making, carpentry and turning, particularly in olive wood, as well as a smithy. His printing establishment is still the best in Palestine, and he began a large pottery and brick business. As a rule, each pupil must learn some trade in addition to his ordinary school tasks, and is properly apprenticed to a master, after his confirmation. Since not all the boys were inclined to master a trade, or adapted to such work, and since agriculture is the chief occupation of the Arab population, Schneller rented from the Turkish government in 1890, seven hundred acres of barren land, which was cultivated with great diligence to fit it for the planting of orange trees. As soon as permission was granted by the Turkish authorities, this estate was bought (October 15, 1906), and on it a colony of thirty of the orphans was settled. There is a great demand for able teachers and preachers in all of the Protestant missions of the Near East. Schneller was in the fortunate position of being able to choose from amongst the large number of his orphan boys those who were most talented and suitable for such service, and for these he founded a seminary for the training of teachers and preachers. A large bequest of the late Count Muennich, of Saxony,

provided the means for founding and maintaining an asylum for twenty blind boys, and as many girls. Here the children are, as in Europe, taught basket- and chair-making, brush-binding and other occupations. But all the raw material has to be got from Germany, as none of it is produced in Palestine. The disposal of the work turned out is also a difficult matter. Later, girls were also admitted to the benefits of the orphanage, yet there are only thirty-two girls to two hundred boys. In order to fit the girls for an occupation after they leave the school, a needlework room and a steam laundry were opened.

Resembling a wide-branching tree in the variety of its occupations, the Syrian Orphanage is a splendid training-institution for the Arab youth in Palestine. Yet the problem was not yet solved, what the object of such training should be. Would it be sufficient to instruct the children in the truths of the Gospel by means of the daily Bible classes, morning and evening prayers and Sunday services, and then urge them, after their six or ten years' stay in the orphanage, to return to their original Churches? For some decades this plan was tried, but it was the general experience that the evangelical impressions made on the hearts of the children were soon erased, old habits and surroundings proving too strong. Nor could this danger be guarded against by means of visits made by the leaders of the institution, or by extensive correspondence, whereby an attempt was made to maintain a connection with former pupils. It was like the task of Sisyphus; labour was lost in one generation after the other. A change of plan was therefore made; the object henceforth should be "to work towards the formation of a national Protestant Church for the Arabs," and to this end the pupils must be led to separate themselves definitely from their original Churches, and to join the Protestant congregation. Yet in Palestine there were great difficulties in the way of founding vigorous Protestant congregations. Though a great majority of the pupils had learned handicrafts, there was very little prospect of their being able to earn a secure livelihood in

Palestine, owing to the undeveloped state of the country, and the consequent lack of demand for such work. Only two ways out of this difficulty seemed to be open. Either upon leaving the school they must emigrate to Egypt, East Africa, Europe, or America, as so many Oriental Christians were doing, thus becoming scattered over the whole world and lost to their own country, or they must be provided with work in connection with the Syrian Orphanage. Now Father Schneller had, from the very beginning, methodically bought up all the ground about the orphanage that he could lay hands on, thus quietly acquiring for the orphanage a considerable property which was fairly compact, and was steadily rising in value. Upon this estate, then, pupils leaving the orphanage were settled, forming a Protestant community, which, in the course of years, numbered one hundred and forty souls. Some of the pupils also settled in Jerusalem, and, with a view to caring for their children, and at the same time to gaining a footing amongst the inhabitants of the city, a school of three classes was begun there, combined with a kindergarten; both of these are very well attended.

After Schneller's death an Evangelical Union on behalf of the Syrian Orphanage was formed, in 1896, in Germany, with its headquarters in Cologne, whence the extensive institutional scheme was directed. The Syrian Orphanage has a yearly budget of nearly £9,000, of which £7,500 are collected from individuals, chiefly as Christmas gifts.

(*c*) *The Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Homes.* Previous to both the Jerusalem Union and the Syrian Orphanage, the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Homes were at work in Palestine. In 1851 Pastor Theodor Fliedner, the founder of this organization, accepted the cordial invitation of Bishop Gobat to come to Jerusalem, and, with four of his deaconesses, took possession of a simple house on Mount Zion, belonging to the Prussian crown. From this modest beginning there has grown the extensive work of the German deaconesses with its two main branches. At first the deaconesses devoted themselves to the education of the women, whom they found to be in a very neglected condition.

This was pioneer work, for, until that time, schools for girls were unknown in Palestine. They founded a boarding-school for girls, which they subsequently removed to a goodly building called "Talitha Cumi," situated on the Heights of Godfrey. One hundred and ten girls are here instructed in the Protestant faith and the usual branches, learning also plain needlework. At first Muhammadan girls were gladly received, but the jealous Turkish authorities sternly prohibited this. The work is therefore, of necessity, confined to training the daughters of Protestants and Oriental Christians. If it is difficult for the Syrian Orphanage to induce its boys to join the Protestant Church, it is, of course, a still more difficult task with the girls, especially since, according to oriental customs, girls are married (or sold) to men chosen by their fathers. Nevertheless in the last few years it has more frequently happened that girls have been permitted by their relatives to join the Protestant Church. Some of these are doing good work as deaconesses or teachers in the girls' schools. More than a thousand girls have, in the last fifty years, enjoyed the blessing of a free Protestant education in Talitha Cumi.

The Syrian Orphanage, the Talitha Cumi Institution and the Armenian Orphanage near Bethlehem are the three most important German educational institutions in Palestine; all three are boarding-schools, and charge no fees. They contribute richly to the well-being of the younger generation in Palestine. Altogether, four hundred native boys and girls receive a Protestant education in these schools. It is characteristic and appropriate that Germany, the land of schools, should, in her missionary work, do so much in the way of giving children a methodical training. It is true that, as boarding-schools, these institutions are subject to a limitation of their usefulness. Their quiet and patient work resembles the laying of the hidden foundation of a bridge, on which the Gospel may hold a triumphal entry into the land whence it sprang.

The second method of service which the deaconesses at once adopted, was that of nursing. In their first small house

they arranged two sick-rooms, one for men and the other for women. Soon after, they built a separate sanatorium on Mount Zion. Here, in the midst of the turmoil and filth of the oriental city, they built a hospital with one hundred beds. Patients of all religions and tongues were admitted, 600 in-patients and over 7,000 out-patients being annually treated. But the unhealthful situation in the midst of the city proved to be unsuitable for a hospital. It was therefore decided to remove to the open and airy Heights of Godfrey to the north-west of the city, where a larger building was erected. A great number of Muhammadan patients are received.

Two other German institutions may be mentioned, which are, as it were, allies of the Kaiserswerth hospital in the care of the sick. When, in 1872, the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was staying in Jerusalem, he undertook to pay the cost of five free beds in Dr. Sandrezky's hospital for children, and permitted the institution to be called the "Marienstift" after the name of his wife. Dr. Sandrezky conducted the hospital until his death in 1899, enlarging it considerably. Annual subscriptions were sent to it from the court of the Grand-Duchy of Mecklenburg. It was not found practicable to form a managing committee in Germany, nor was it possible to erect a new building fulfilling all the modern requirements of such an institution. It has therefore been united with the Kaiserswerth hospital.

When the Pomeranian Baron von Keffenbrink-Ascheraden went to Palestine with his wife in 1865, he was greatly moved by the misery of the four hundred lepers, most of whom were beggars in the neighbourhood of the larger towns. He succeeded, in 1867, in opening a home for them outside the Jaffa gate, which he called "Jesushilfe." In 1881 it passed into the possession of the Moravian Church, under the management of which it had been from the very beginning. In 1885 it was removed to a large vineyard farther away from the city. This work demands great self-denial; in addition to the fact that the nursing of the lepers is very trying, and that there is always danger of the nurses' being infected with the

disease, there is the bad behaviour of these mendicants to be reckoned with, as well as their ingratitude. Nor does the Turkish government lend any adequate assistance in the matter of confining lepers in asylums in order to prevent the spread of the disease, and it is so jealous that it does not permit Muhammadan inmates to attend the Christian services. At present there are fifty patients in the institution, thirty-seven of whom are Muhammadans. German medical missionary work, then, includes various charitable undertakings. Such undertakings are to be regarded as real missionary work in Palestine, just as in other mission fields. They are quietly pulling down the walls of prejudice and animosity, which, erected by Oriental Christians and Muhammadans alike, obstruct the progress of Protestant missions.

Ten years ago the Kaiserswerth deaconesses were led to devote themselves more and more to visiting from house to house among the Protestant communities. They were welcomed both in Arab and German congregations, for they cared for the sick and the poor, organized the young men and young women into Christian societies, established kindergartens, and taught in girls' schools. Deaconesses are thus employed in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jaffa and Haifa. In their modest way they are helping to make the Protestant congregations under German care a light to this country, so torn asunder by religious differences. There are, altogether, in these congregations about 2,700 Protestants, 690 of whom are Arabs, 1,330 templars and 460 members of the German State Church. They form the larger share of all the Protestants in Palestine, for in the English and American congregations there are hardly more than 2,600 native and foreign members.

Just at present, under the special patronage of the German Emperor and Empress, an institution is being established on the northern slopes of the Mount of Olives, known as the "Kaiserin Auguste Victoria Stiftung." The large cluster of houses being built there, at a cost of £100,000, is to be dedicated in the spring of 1910, and is to be a centre for all German charitable work in Palestine.

4. *Protestant Outposts in Arabia*

(*a*) *The "Cradle of Islam."* Arabia is five times the size of the German Empire, but has only 5,000,000 inhabitants. From ancient times there have been centres of culture on its borders, as Sheba in the far southwest, and Petra in the north, on the borders of the Roman Empire; and the Sinaitic Peninsula was, in former centuries, a religious centre both for Beduins and for Christian monks. Yet the country, with its gifted Arab population, lay in comparative darkness till Muhammad came to raise the Arabs to historical importance. History tells of two other nations which, in the fresh vigour of their youth, were awakened out of sleep by magical personal influences, to become splendid conquerors and to found great empires; the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the Mongols under Genghis Khan. Which of these three nations has had the greatest influence on the history of the world would be hard to say. It was a disadvantage to the Arabs that Muhammad died just when his conquests began to extend beyond the deserts of Arabia. And yet the religious and national impulses given by him were so strong that, within a century, half the known world was in the power, and bore the stamp of Islam. The Near East and Northern Africa as far as the Sahara have borne that impress for a thousand years. The Arabic language has had the wonderful effect, not only of ousting Semitic languages related to it, but of well-nigh absorbing a number of ancient, entirely unrelated languages, such as Egyptian and Berber, making the unknown, though beautiful dialect of the desert Beduins the *lingua franca* for 200,000,000 Moslems, and the language of the religion and theology of Islam. Let us compare Islam with Christianity and Judaism, the other two great religions which originated among the Semites. Christianity, too, worked wonders, bringing the mighty Roman Empire and almost the whole of the then known world under the influences of the Cross. Yet Islam in a single century robbed Christianity of half of her dominion, and established itself there so firmly that the Christian Churches and the powers of

Europe have been able to win back only here and there a little territory on the border of Islam. Judaism was, from the beginning, confined as a national religion to the tiny nation of Israel. Only for a little while did it develop a great propaganda, which did not belong to its nature, and the impulse to which vanished forever with the destruction of Jerusalem. Islam, too, made its appearance as the national religion of the Arabs. Allah speaks Arabic in heaven, and the Koran may be written and read only in Arabic. The cry of the muezzin and the five daily prayers are uttered in Arabic throughout the Muhammadan world. Instruction in the theology of Islam also may be given only in that tongue. Mecca and Medina are the religious capitals. Yet Islam, in spite of this national character, developed a gigantic propaganda, and has bound non-Arab peoples to itself so fast that they resist the entrance of every other religion with tenacious fanaticism.

But, while the Arab people and the Arab religion were going conquering over the world, Arabia itself, the "Cradle of Islam," was sinking back into a condition of historical insignificance. After the Omayyads had, in 661, only thirty years after Muhammad's death, removed the capital to Damascus, Arabia ceased to play any part in Islam and its conquests, though it retained the place of honour as the guardian of the Kaaba and of Muhammad's tomb. At the present day the political condition of Arabia is pitiably primitive. Only the western coast and part of the eastern are subject to the Sultan, who is forced to assert his power over the holy cities, Mecca and Medina, since his prestige as khalif depends upon his doing so. This explains why the Hejaz Railway from Damascus to Mecca was pushed in such feverish haste, in order to bring the holy cities into close connection with Constantinople. In Yemen, the ancient Sheba in the southwest, and in the district of El Hasa on the Persian Gulf, the Turkish power is very weak. With difficulty it has at length asserted itself in Yemen against the rebellion which lasted from 1903 to 1905. The rest of Arabia, the interior, the South and the East, do not even nominally submit to the government of Turkey. In

the interior, Muhammad Ibn el Wahhab (died 1787) and Prince Saud established the Wahhab Empire in the eighteenth century. In the southeast the imams have founded the Kingdom of Oman, with Maskat as its capital. On the southern coast of Hadramaut there are several little sultanates. The Beduins are still as impatient as ever of any strict political government, and many are said to be heathens, or at least only nominal Muhammadans.

(*b*) *Aden, the southwestern gate of Arabia.* When the call came to Protestants to take the Gospel to Muhammadans, Arabia first attracted attention. General Haig of the Church Missionary Society strongly advocated the beginning of work in Aden. He wrote in 1882 in the *Intelligencer*, the organ of the society, a significant article on Aden as the Gate of Arabia, laying extensive plans before the society for a mission in Southern Arabia and Somaliland. He himself went to make enquiries in those lands (1886). The Church Missionary Society adopted his plans, stationing the medical missionary, Dr. Harpur, who had been in Egypt, temporarily in Aden and Hodaida. But, in the meantime, at the request of Haig, a talented Scotsman, the Hon. Dr. Ion Keith Falconer, a son of the Earl of Kintore, and professor of Arabic in Cambridge, had settled in Aden, and had begun mission work in the desert village of *Sheikh Othman*, in a grove of date-palms, the only one in the neighbourhood. Unfortunately he soon fell a victim to malaria, dying on the 11th of May, 1887. At once his mother and his widow each offered £300 a year for the continuance of the work, and the Free Church of Scotland, to which he had belonged, adopted Aden as a main station, while the Church Missionary Society very tactfully retired from the neighbourhood. The work in Sheikh Othman proved to be very arduous. The missionaries were, to be sure, protected, since the district belonged to England, and the place lay on the great caravan route between Aden and Yemen, one of the most important and frequented roads in the peninsula; on some days more than a thousand camels would pass the mission station, affording a splendid

opportunity for sending Christian literature into the interior of Arabia. But the Arabs proved to be unapproachable. It was only an episode that during a few years some hundreds of liberated galley slaves lived in the settlement, for soon they were passed on to Lovedale in South Africa to be educated. The work of the mission centred in the medical activity. Dr. Young and Dr. Morris treated thousands in the hospital and the dispensary, especially in times of cholera, plague and other pestilences. Conversions were few, and were mostly among such as had been for some time in the service of the mission. The missionaries now and then had the joy of baptizing some converted native of India, who, not venturing to join the Christian Church at home, now fled thither to do so. The missionaries also attended to the spiritual needs of the garrison in the furnace-like fort of Aden, and of the hundreds of sailors of English vessels calling at Steamer Point in Aden harbour. It is now the intention to establish a second station at Dhala, about eighty miles inland, on the border of the British territory, where attempts have already been made to make a beginning. In Makalla, on the Hadramaut coast, Hoyer, a Dane, attempted to establish a Danish mission. But, being driven away by the local sultan, he very sensibly joined the Scots at Sheikh Othman. He there undertook the school work, in which he has been assisted by lady missionaries from Denmark.

(*c*) *The East Coast of Arabia.* Rising precipitously out of the sea on the eastern coast of Arabia, there is a rocky range of mountains forming a large peninsula, bounded inland by vast deserts. This is the Kingdom of Oman, at the head of which stands the imam or sultan of Maskat, a rock-girt town which, like the port-town Muttra, of equal size, and about two miles distant, lies in the narrow, desolate, burning coast-plain. The Persian traveller, *Abdar Rezak*, who was there in 1842, writes: "The heat was so intense that it burned the marrow in the bones; the sword in its scabbard melted like wax, and the gems which adorned the handle of the dagger were reduced to coal. In the plains the chase became a matter of perfect

ease, for the desert was filled with roasted gazelles." Inland the land rises abruptly to a height of from 5,000 to 6,000 feet, where there are green fields and a population of about 1,000,000. Maskat dates are celebrated. Unfortunately the interior is rendered unsafe by reason of inter-tribal disputes, which often put a stop to trade and travel for months at a time. The Arabs of Oman are an enterprising people. It is they who have chiefly colonized the east coast of Africa, and the sultanate of Zanzibar was, far into the nineteenth century, a dependency of their imamate. The connection of Oman with East Africa was what led to the sending of the first missionaries to Maskat. Alexander Mackay, the pioneer missionary in Uganda, repeatedly insisted on the necessity of energetically counteracting the increasing Arab and Moslem influence at its source, Maskat. The Arabs in Africa would be deeply impressed by the establishment of a strong mission in their homeland. This call found an echo in the heart of a veteran missionary in India, Bishop Valpy French of Lahore.[1] For forty years he had stood in the forefront of the battle in Northern India, having founded the St. John's College in Agra, one of the best Indian mission colleges; and, later on, a divinity school in Lahore. He served for ten years as the first bishop of Lahore. The infirmities of increasing age and differences with the Church Missionary Society induced him to resign his office. But the veteran did not think of laying down his arms. He had come into such close contact with the Muhammadans in the Panjab, that he had a burning desire to engage in mission work in the native land of Islam. Mackay's appeal pointed out the way; he could begin in Maskat. To his grief the Church Missionary Society would not entertain his proposal, but, not to be balked, he went as an independent missionary. Although in his sixty-seventh year, he set out for Maskat in February, 1891, ill supplied with the comforts suited to his years. Arabic he knew fairly well, and he diligently studied the theological literature of Islam. His calmness and dialectic ability fitted him to be a preacher to the easily excited

[1] Herbert Birks, "Life of T. Valpy French, Bishop of Lahore," 2 vols.

Moslems. He was, however, unable to bear the heat of Maskat after the hardships of a laborious life of forty years in the tropics. He died of exhaustion on the 14th of May, 1891. His example had a powerful effect on his old friend, Bishop Stuart, of Waiapu in New Zealand, who also gave up his bishopric in his old age in order to become a missionary among the Moslems of Persia. The interest in missions among Muhammadans, which agitated the Protestant world in the eighties, was also felt in the theological college of the Dutch Reformed Church at New Brunswick, New Jersey, in the United States. The professor of Arabic, J. G. Lansing, a son of the veteran of the American Mission in Egypt, agreed with three of his students to start a Protestant mission in Arabia. Since their Church did not encourage them in this effort, they went as independent missionaries. An opportune legacy of £500 furnished them with means sufficient to cover equipment and initial expenses. In 1889 James Cantine and S. M. Zwemer set out for Aden by way of Syria and Egypt, and, after becoming somewhat acquainted with the land and people, they founded, between the years 1891 and 1893, three main stations, Basra in 1891, Bahrein in 1892, and Maskat in 1893. In 1894 this mission was transferred to the Dutch Reformed Church of the United States. It has not been extended beyond these three stations. The Bahrein Islands are a small group off the centre of the west coast of the Persian Gulf. Since 1867 they have been under the protection of England. They are celebrated for their great fisheries, which yield annually pearls of the value of £300,000. Menama is the chief town, and is the mission station. On the mainland, opposite the islands, is the long sandy province of El Hasa, where many preaching tours are made. The station at Basra is unfortunately under the wretched Turkish control, which opposes all mission work. Colporteurs are allowed only in districts where Jews and Christians are in the majority. No school may be opened, and no church built, unless there are at least twelve Protestant families in the place. Muhammadans who venture to come into touch with the Protestants are placed under

police supervision, and, if they too frequently enter the mission house, they are forbidden to continue these visits. If they still show signs of inclining to Protestantism, they disappear, one perhaps to be a soldier far away in Asia Minor, another never to be heard of again. Since the public preaching of the Gospel is forbidden and there are, as yet, no native congregations to unite in public worship, the missionary activity is limited to three kinds of preparatory work. (1) Journeys are undertaken from all three stations by the missionaries, and even more by their colporteurs and other assistants, far into the interior; from Basra, by river boats through the delta of the Shatt el Arab, and from Maskat on camel back. On these journeys they usually meet with a hearty welcome and gain some foothold. In this way three out-stations have been formed; Nasarieh and Amara in the Shatt el Arab, and Kuweit, the projected terminus of the Bagdad railway. In the mission stations, as on all these journeys, a diligent work of colportage is carried on. Several bookstores are kept in connection with this branch of the work. (2) Medical mission work is perhaps equally important, carried on as it is at all the stations. In Maskat, however, there is thus far only the missionary's wife to attend to the dispensary work. In Basra the building of a hospital is prevented by Turkish jealousy, and unsuitable native houses have to be used instead. There is, however, a fully equipped hospital in the Bahrein Islands, the Mason Memorial Hospital, with two physicians and a nurse. Altogether 31,000 patients are treated in the course of a year. (3) Work among women, and schools, are still in their initial stage, both being much hampered by the stupidity and fanaticism of the Moslems. In Basra only a small school can be held in a private house. In Maskat it was hoped that eighteen negro slaves who had been liberated by the English, and entrusted to the care of the mission, might have formed the nucleus of a school. No native Arab children, however, came to it, and the slaves showed no inclination to learn. So the school had to be given up. But a second attempt was made in Maskat in 1905. It is only in British

Bahrein that there is a regular boys' and girls' school. Four lady missionaries, in addition to the missionaries' wives, visit in the harems, such visits being rendered more than ordinarily arduous by the oppressive heat in the stuffy houses. They complain much of the obtuseness they meet with, but rejoice over the slightest sign of awakening interest.

It is not reasonable to expect great results from a Muhammadan mission which has been at work for only seventeen years, and that, too, in so trying a climate and so isolated a position. One of the pioneers of the mission, Peter Zwemer, died in 1898, a victim of the climate. A talented member of the same family, the Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D. D., has made the Protestant world acquainted with missions among the Arabs. He is not only an indefatigable writer,[1] but also in person a champion of missions among Muhammadans in general. He was the originator of the conference of missionaries among Muhammadans, which was held in Cairo from the 4th to the 9th of April, 1906.

[1] "Arabia, the Cradle of Islam," 3d edition, New York, 1900. "Islam, a Challenge to Faith," New York, 1908. "The Mohammedan World of To-day," New York.

V

PERSIA

PERSIA has an area of about 640,000 square miles, and is, therefore, about two and a half times the size of the German Empire. Its population, however, is only 7,500,000. Large stretches of country, particularly in the interior, are desert, void of human beings. More than half of the country has only one inhabitant to the square mile. Only the provinces along the boundary are at all thickly populated. Of non-Muhammadans there are only about 100,000. Islam, which overran the country after the battle of Kadesia in 634 A. D., swept away nearly all the Zoroastrians who had enjoyed state protection under the Sassanids (531–628), as well as nearly all the Christians, who at that time were thickly scattered over the country. Only in the province of Azerbaijan, in the northwest, is a remnant of the ancient Persian Church still met with, the so-called Nestorians, or Syrians, whose number is 23,000 to 25,000.

The great mass of Muhammadans is a curious conglomerate. In the southwestern province of Khuristan there are 250,000 Arab nomad immigrants, who so predominate that the province goes also by the name of Arabistan. In the wild mountainous western provinces 900,000 Kurdish bandits and Lurs have their homes, the former to the north and the latter to the south of the latitude of Hamadan. In the northern provinces, from Azerbaijan to Khorasan, there dwell nearly 1,750,000 people, belonging to nomadic tribes of Turks and Turkomans, known as *Ilat*, the "tribes." But the main portion of the Muhammadan population is the 5,500,000 Persians, who are the only great and historic nation of the Indo-Germanic stock that has been almost entirely Islamized. True to the genius of the family of peoples to which it belongs, the

Persian nation has contributed greatly, and in most original fashion, to the further development of Islam. We will point out but three of these contributions.

(*a*) *The Shiah.* Even before Muhammad's appearance, there had been jealousy between the Omayya and the Hashim branches of his family, the Koreish. It was to the latter branch that the Prophet and the majority of his first followers belonged, while his bitterest opponent, Abu Sufian, belonged to the former. The quarrel became acute during the first decades after the death of Muhammad, in consequence of the intrigues of Ayesha, the most influential of the Prophet's wives, and the boundless ambition of Muawiyya, the son of Abu Sufian. The result was a fight to the death between the Prophet's family and the Omayyads. The sword, to which the Prophet had appealed for the authorization of his prophetic office, brought ruin upon his own family. Ali was murdered, Hasan and Husein, his two sons, were slain in battle. The khalifate passed to the Omayya family, while the Prophet's family was thrust aside. If there had been no truly religious impulses in Muhammad's movement, this violent and ruthless pushing aside of his family might have taken place without causing such a tremendous commotion and division among his followers. As it was, a portion of the Islamic peoples separated from the khalifate of the Omayyads, and, faithful to the memory of Muhammad, gathered round his son-in-law, Ali, and Ali's two sons, Hasan and Husein. The tragic end of those three, combined with the fact that they were descendants of the Prophet, surrounded them with a halo. The *Shiah* (Sect), as the followers of Ali were named, was thus originated. Though taking its rise in political troubles, it could maintain itself only by making a religious claim. Both religious and secular power had been united in Muhammad. The Omayyads had assumed the secular power, the rule of the world. So the Shiahs claimed the religious succession. Ali, Hasan, Husein, and their immediate successors were thus, in the eyes of the Shiahs, the legitimate imams, the religious leaders and teachers of the Moslem community. Thus the peculiar doctrine of

the imams, the shibboleth of the Shiites (Shiahs), took its rise; of this doctrine we have spoken at some length in chapter four. Intelligible as this dogmatic development is, arising out of loyalty to the Prophet, it was, nevertheless, impossible to carry it through without rejecting the *Sunna*, or "tradition," which was cunningly used by the opposite party in support of its pretensions to supreme power, and, further, it was necessary to adopt a free allegorical exegesis of the Koran itself, since the Koran is silent about the imams. But in thus freeing themselves to some extent from a literal interpretation of the inspired book, they had undermined the theological foundation. In this way it came about that, while in Sunnitic Islam the doctrinal development soon came to a standstill, and, after the first centuries, no new sects arose, the Shiah, on the other hand, experienced numerous outbursts of dissent of the oddest character. In the pages of this book we meet with the Druses, Ismailites, Nusairiyeh, Metawileh, and Babists, and there are innumerable other sects. The orthodox Shiah itself, also, has made full use of the wide scope offered to it for theological development. It is not too much to say that, in some form or other, allegorical exegesis, an inclination to theosophical and mystical speculations, a predilection for mystical dervish orders, and the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, are the common property of Shiites of all kinds.

Sunna and Shiah fought long and fiercely. For a long time Egypt, North Africa, Syria and nearly the whole of the East were Shiite. Yet the Sunna finally won the supremacy, because of the fact that the Arabs held to the Sunna, and that the Turks adopted it. Yet when, in 1502, Ismail Safi Shah mounted the Persian throne as the first native king, after a Mongol government of nearly 250 years, he decreed that the Shiah should be the national religion in his kingdom. And, ever since, Persia has been a stronghold of Shiism. Outside of Persia, it appears only sporadically, as a sect.

(*b*) *Sufism.* By far the most important doctrinal development of the Shiah is sufism, one of the most profound systems of theology ever produced by any race. By ignoring the

Sunna and adopting an allegorical exegesis, a wider opportunity was gained, as we have seen, for a free development of theology. The innate speculative faculty of the Indo-Germanic race asserted itself, receiving, in addition, from Zoroastrianism a tendency to take a profound view of life. It seems probable that the specifically Persian doctrinal development owes its origin to three influences: (1) to Indian pantheism, (2) to the Neoplatonism of the Grecian schools of philosophy in its later form, and (3) to the gnostic speculations of ancient Christian sects. But it is at the present day scarcely possible to unravel this tangle of influences, which enriched the world of Persian thought, and to trace them back to their various individual sources. The determining factor was religious and intellectual dissatisfaction with the dead forms of Islamic worship, and with the incomplete and dry scholasticism of the orthodox doctrine. This Persian theosophy was rendered peculiarly attractive by the grace and finish of the poetic form into which it was cast. Persian poetry is penetrated with its spirit. The greatest Persian poets, Sadi, Hafiz, and Jalal-ud-Din Rumi are profound philosophers. This wonderful combination of the most beautiful poetry with the profoundest philosophy is unique in the history of literature, and exercises even on Oriental students in the Occident an influence that is often nothing short of intoxicating.

In giving a sketch of the system of sufism, we shall make a distinction between its fundamental principles and its practice. Only the Godhead is real, essential being, it alone existing from everlasting to everlasting in unapproachable majesty. Though the universe rests on the divine will, it has no being of its own, in fact it *is* not, but, rather, only appears to be, being intended by God to be a mirror, in which the eternal Godhead is reflected. Conditional being is granted to man alone, who possesses existence in so far as his spirit is a part or an effluence of divine substance, but who does not exist in so far as his body and his world of sense share in the unreality of the universe. Man's being rests on a complicated process of creative emanation. At the begin-

ning of all things God caused to emanate from His own hidden being the original substance, light, in order by its means to establish relations between Himself and the world, which, in so far as it possessed existence at all, existed apart from Himself. Of this light-substance He formed the throne of His glory, the tablets of the world's destiny and, finally, the soul of man. From among men He has at various times ordained individuals, who have possessed a particularly bright and full measure of the light-substance. These are the prophets, and, above all, Muhammad, who was, in fact, identified with the light-substance, which is often termed "the spirit of Muhammad." The task of man is to return from his own being, conditioned as it is by its union with the non-existent, to true, pure being, to the Godhead, the original Light. One easily recognizes here the influence of Vedanta philosophy, and of the Christian logos theory, as it appeared in the gnostic systems of emanation. But this speculative, theosophical view of the universe is not the original contribution of sufism, having been, in its main outlines, adopted from outside, and given a beautiful form in the lyrical poetry of Persia. The characteristic doctrine of sufism is, rather, the "ascent of man to God." In order to solve its religious-ethical problem, and to lead the soul out of the fetters of non-existence back to the pure, true entity whence it emanated, sufism makes use neither of the enquiring intellect, nor of the practical will; neither of orthodox dogma nor of the fixed forms of worship in the mosque; it sets in activity, rather, a specific faculty of the soul, intuition, the inner eye, *taur* (the imagination). By complete self-abstraction from the surrounding world of sense, with its impressions, sensual attractions and duties, the soul is to sink itself into the divine by contemplation, thus returning to absorption in the Godhead by a toilsome ascent of eight steps. Only the dervish, who has broken away from all connection with the outside world, is able successfully to enter upon this path; when he has taken his first step in it he becomes a *salik*, a "wanderer." But, since the way is long and the

goal lofty, and since neither the teaching nor the practice of Islam affords any helpful guidance, it is necessary for him to have a *murshid*, a spiritual guide, to whom he must commit himself in utter confidence and unquestioning subjection. Only so may he hope to avoid losing his way on the difficult path. The eight steps of the ascent are (1) *service*, the performance of the Islamic precepts for life and worship; (2) *love to God*, which the poets extol with particular zest, often painting it in bold colours, which suggest the passions of erotic love; (3) *seclusion;* (4) *knowledge;* (5) *ecstasy;* (6) *truth;* (7) *union with God;* (8) *extinction.* In order that intuition may become fully effective it is necessary that the ordinary functions of the intellect and emotions be suspended as much as possible, the hidden powers of the "imagination," or subconsciousness, being allowed full play in their stead. The means to this end are spasmodic movements of the body, dancing, hemp-smoking and the use of other stupifying drugs, but, above all, psychopathic influences of the hidden life of the soul, such as hypnotism and clairvoyance, in which the sufists had attained a high pitch of perfection long before occidental science began to observe those remarkable phenomena in the twilight of the soul-life. (Compare what is said of the dervish orders, and of the mysticism of Islam, in Chapter I, 2.)

It is easy to understand how a race naturally inclined to mysticism and repulsed by the prose of real life, might prefer to spend life in the mysterious depths of an artificially produced semi-consciousness. It is equally clear what a dark shadow this artificial and unreal life of the mind must cast on the exalted philosophy upon which it rests. Occidental scholars are inclined to confine themselves to the pantheistic theories of sufism, while they pass by, as unpleasing, the dark shadows of mystical practice. So the actual facts are misrepresented, and this false representation is one of the grounds of the exaggerated extolling of this Islamic philosophy. Yet this mystical practice is the specific characteristic of sufism.

We must enquire into some of the effects of such mystical

speculation. (1) Since it is the chief object of this mysticism to lead by the eight steps of intuition to the certain goal of real union with God, an experience which the soul is to attain independently of the Koran and the mosque, all the external forms of doctrine and practice are despised in comparison with that "royal road." The mystic became indifferent to both mosque and church, to the Koran and the Bible, to the cross and the crescent. One often finds, in sufist poets, passages which dispose of every kind of historical religion with equal contempt. One result of this is that freedom from the fetters of the blind fanaticism, elsewhere so sadly prevalent in Islam, renders possible the formation of a sometimes surprisingly just estimate of other religions, even of lower forms of worship, such as idolatry. But it more frequently happens that a destructive scepticism grows out of this contempt of outward forms, such a scepticism as we see, for instance, in the famous Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. Sufism is altogether unfavourable to a calm appreciation of Christianity as a divine, just provision for the salvation of mankind.

(2) If the taur (imagination) is the spiritual function brought into play by the sufist mystic, and if a murshid be indispensable to any one beginning to tread the mystic road, then the way is evidently opened for the formation of the most various sects and orders, since the number of those who desire to qualify themselves to become murshids is naturally great; and, as soon as any one is recognized as a murshid by a larger or smaller circle, he at once acquires limitless influence over his disciples, since they are bound to obey him blindly. And, further, in the semi-darkness of mystic clairvoyance there are methods of exciting and increasing the powers of imagination and even of inciting to superhuman acts; methods, many of which are harmless, though many are also of a doubtful, and even of an obviously dangerous, character. Every murshid considers his own method to be the most effectual, and it becomes the shibboleth of his order. This is the soil in which the dervish orders have grown, developing their mystic methods, which appear so abstruse to us.

(3) If the "imagination" and other similar psychical powers be alone needful for the mystical ascent, the display of practical piety in public and private life loses importance. The mystic who is undergoing absorption in Allah is raised above good and evil; his conduct in this non-existent world does not affect his progress in the road of intuition. Thus, in presenting itself as the "royal road," in opposition to the common Islamism of mosque and university, sufism undermined the foundations of morality, and deadened the sense of duty. In fact it was guilty of the fateful error of separating the specifically religious life from the ethical life of the individual as a whole, concentrating religion in an utterly subordinate function of the soul. This is the more dangerous since orientals, quite apart from such teaching, are only too strongly inclined to make a thoroughgoing separation between their religious philosophy and their every-day life. In spite of these dark shadows, sufism is one of the most brilliant proofs of the soul's hunger for communion with God, a hunger which will be satisfied. Even Christians may find edification in listening to the strains of its hymns, which echo the longing after true life in God. And this fragrant lotus flower is the more surprising since it springs from the desert soil of the Islamic belief in Allah, and blooms in contrast with the dry formalism of the correct Muhammadan practice of piety.

(*c*) *Babism.*[1] The doctrine of the imams as a series of progressive agents of revelation, belonging to the family of Muhammad and of Ali, gave rise in the nineteenth century to the most effective and ideal religious movement within the world of Islam. About the beginning of that century, two teachers, Sheikh Akhmed Akhsai (1752–1826) and his disciple, Hadji Seyyid Kasim, appeared in Kerbela, the sacred place of pilgrimage and the seat of learning of the Shiites, and further developed the doctrine of the imams, teaching that in every

[1] E. G. Browne, "The Episode of the Bab"; "New History of the Bab." Dr. F. C. Andreas, "Die Babis in Persien," Leipsic, 1896. *Church at Home and Abroad*, Vol. XIV. *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, 1894, pp. 327 ff. *Ev. Miss. Mag.*, 1894, pp. 12 ff. Sell, "Essays on Islam," pp. 46 ff.

generation the imam, though himself hidden, has some one who communicates his revelations, and through whom he guarantees the spread and the purity of the true faith.

Among their disciples was a merchant's apprentice from Shiraz, who, to his father's grief, gave up his work, devoting himself to theological speculations. This was Ali Muhammad. He discovered that he possessed the qualifications to be such a medium of revelation, and began, in a small circle in Shiraz at first, to call himself the *Bab* (gate), that is, the organ of revelation of the hidden imam. Although a youth of barely twenty-four years, he found a following. Among his first disciples were such important men as the talented and energetic Mollah Husein.

The life of Ali Muhammad was short and remarkably uneventful. At first he claimed to be nothing more than the Bab, the representative of the hidden imam of his generation. This claim he proved in his Surat al Jussuf, a treatise on Sura XII of the Koran, which deals with the history of Joseph. But he soon made the further claim that he himself *was* the imam, who had been hidden for centuries, but had now appeared as the expected *Imam Mahdi*, that is the "Rightly Led One," whose calling it was to introduce the time of the final victory of Islam. From that time on he called himself the *Nukta* (point), *Nukta i Ula* (first point), or *Nukta i Beyan* (point of explanation), and set forth his claims in detail in his most important work, the "Beyan," that is, the "explanation." The original substance, light, the original will of Allah, the first creation of Allah, assumes from time to time human form. These "incarnations of the first Will" are the prophets. Of these there have been an untold number in the past, and in the future there will be quite as many. The last great prophet was Muhammad. The prophet of this generation was the Bab. The various incarnations must all be communications of the same divine revelation, which, however, is further developed as the human race progresses. The revelation at the time of Abraham differed from that in Adam's time. Even so, revelation has undergone development between the time of

Muhammad and the time of the Bab. In every age the revelation of the respective imam is the highest and most perfect in existence, and must be accepted as such in faith. Thus the teaching of the Bab now supplants that of Muhammad, the Beyan is the legitimate successor of the Koran, and the Bab is to men of the present day what Muhammad was to men of past centuries. The Bab is logical and admits that after him will come he "whom God will make visible," that is, a new imam, or his bab, for a succeeding generation. This teaching of the Bab clears the way for freer doctrinal development.

It would not be worth while to devote much space to the particular doctrines which the Bab taught, on the strength of his being the highest authority in the matter of revelation. Curiously enough, he thought that nineteen was the sacred number. He found it everywhere in the world-scheme, and was resolved to bring it to the light. His sacred book, the Beyan, has nineteen sections in each of its nineteen chapters; the Babist year has nineteen months, each with nineteen days; the day has nineteen hours, each consisting of nineteen minutes; coins, taxes and even fines are to be regulated on the basis of nineteen. The Bab gave an original turn to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, common to all Shiites. He maintained that every soul is, as it were, a letter of the alphabet, written by God. Just as a child rubs out a letter he has written, until he has done it perfectly, so every soul reënters a body until it has gained its perfect form.

More important are the practical precepts of the Bab. These accord greater rights to women, permitting them to attend meetings of the men, abolishing the veil and rendering divorce more difficult. Smoking is forbidden. The dead are to be more carefully buried. The Bab even tried to introduce a new form of handwriting, which, however, has fortunately not been generally adopted. It is difficult to determine whether there are in the teaching of the Bab any germs of social and religious progress in Persia. At any rate, his followers are more tolerant of other religions, especially of Christianity. The Bible as well as the Koran is supplanted

by the Beyan of the Bab, yet it is regarded as an interesting lesson in the progress of mankind to read the records of both those revelations, comparing them with the more perfect revelation of the Beyan. The reading of the Bible is, therefore, recommended. The question has been debated, whether Babism is an Islamic sect, or whether, banished from Islam, it has grown to be a new religion. Its principles, at least, provided the possibility of a religious development in advance of Islam, and Beha, the successor of the Bab, has invented a kind of universal religion. While the Bab, still a youth, was working out his ideas, a tragic fate overtook him. He was banished first to Maku, a remote little town on the furthest northwestern boundary of Persia, whence he was dragged in 1850 to Tabriz to be barbarously executed. He had not yet reached his thirtieth year. Though the leader had languished in prison and had met with a shameful death, Babism now spread rapidly. People of all grades of society, even the highest and best educated, became his followers, being called Babists. Even in the first generation there were such prominent men as Mollah Husein, the hadji, Mollah Muhammad Ali, and Mollah Muhammad Ali of Zangin, noted for his learning and piety. Above all, there was Zerrin Taj (Golden Crown), a woman of surpassing intellect. Filled with enthusiasm, the Babists called her Qurrat ul Ain (Lustre of the Eye). She had a most attractive personality, doubly striking by contrast with her countrywomen of the Persian harems.

The Persian government foolishly assumed from the very beginning a hostile attitude towards Babism, endeavouring to exterminate it with fire and sword. Seeing their influence threatened, and angered by the sharp criticisms of the Bab and his followers, the mollahs and the mujtahids, the superior clergy of the Shiites, urged on the temporal power. Thus a terrible war of extermination began to be waged against Babism. Barely four years after Ali Muhammad first appeared as Bab in Shiraz, a band of his followers in a remote part of the country, led by Mollah Husein, defended the

mountain fastness of Sheikh Tebersi, in the province of Mazandaran, against a superior force of government troops, the siege ending after four months in the extermination of the faithful defenders. A year later an extremely bloody and bitter civil war broke out in the town of Zangin, under the leadership of the Babist Mollah Muhammad Ali. This contest also ended in the extermination of the Babist community there. The severest blow was struck by the Persian government in 1852. Three fanatical Babists, probably without any authority, and even without the knowledge of the leader of the movement, committed a murderous assault on the shah, Nasir-ud-Din. All the Babists had to pay the penalty; they were to be exterminated root and branch. As many of them as fell into the hands of the government were condemned to death, and were executed with the cruelties that only oriental bloodthirstiness can devise. Blood flowed in streams. But if the government thought that Babism could be thus crushed, it made a great mistake. The movement grew, and the Babists went to their death with the joyousness of martyrs. Only one of them is known to have denied his faith when threatened with death; as soon as the danger was past he repented bitterly of his apostasy, and two years later proved the sincerity of his repentance by suffering a still more cruel martyrdom. Even Christians must wonder, when they behold the heroic faith and the triumphant death of these Babists. Singing "From God we came, to God we return," they faced the most shameful and agonizing death, without the trembling of an eyelid.

Meanwhile the movement was undergoing a rapid inner development. Ali Muhammad had, before his death, solemnly appointed as his successor a disciple of his, Mirza Yahya, with the title of Hazret-i-Ezel (His Highness the Eternal) or Subh-i-Ezel (Dawn of Eternity). Yahya withdrew to Bagdad in order to escape the pursuit of the Persian government. But the latter, remembering the attempt of 1852, was suspicious of such a man so near to the boundary, and induced the Sultan to confine both him and his followers. They were, accord-

ingly, placed under police supervision as political prisoners, first in Constantinople, later in Adrianople, and finally in Acca in Syria. Mirza Yahya was of a retiring disposition, not a man of action. His elder half-brother, Mirza Husein Ali, better known under the name of Beha Ullah (Beauty of God), became the real leader of the movement. It was not long before this talented and versatile man discovered that he was the imam predicted by the Bab, "whom Allah would render visible," the imam of the succeeding generation, who was called to supplant the revelation imparted by the Bab with a newer and still more advanced revelation. In his great work, "Ikan" (certainty), which he had written while still in Bagdad, he endeavoured to prove in a really masterly way, from the Bible and the Koran, the truth of the teaching of Babism in general. In later works he openly advanced his claims to the prophetic office. And, however much Mirza Yahya resisted these claims, the more energetic and logical Beha gained the upper hand. By far the greater number of the Babists attached themselves to him, and he managed, even in imprisonment in Acca, by means of an extensive correspondence, to retain the leadership until his death on the 16th of May, 1892. Since then his son, Abbas Effendi, has been the leader of the movement.

In 1896 the attention of Europe was widely attracted to the Babists once more when, on May 1st of that year, Shah Nasir-ud-Din was shot by a fanatical Babist as he was entering the mosque in Teheran. Connected with this deed were many dangerous political intrigues, especially that of a revengeful adventurer, Jamal-ud-Din. The murder of the shah, an act of vengeance for the cruel and bloody persecution of the Babists, was punished by similar persecutions. But religious movements cannot be exterminated by means of the sword and the gallows. It is estimated that fully one million of the 7,500,000 inhabitants of Persia are at the present day Babists. Bloody persecutions have again burst over them of late years, for instance, in 1903 in Yezd; but the Babists meet death as defiantly as ever.

(*d*) Aside from the Shiite Persians, the Syrians or Nestorians in the northwestern province of Azerbaijan chiefly claim our attention. They dwell partly in the plains to the west of Lake Urumiah, partly in the neighbouring mountainous region of Kurdistan. Lake Urumiah is about eighty miles long and thirty miles wide; its water is so saline and bituminous that fish cannot live in it, but on its shores there are numberless aquatic birds, especially flocks of beautiful flamingoes. To the west of the lake there is a wonderfully beautiful and fertile plain, which rises gradually towards the mountains and is called "Persia's paradise." On it lie more than three hundred villages and hamlets, nestling among fields, gardens and vineyards. Numerous streams rush down from the mountains to the lake, their banks lined with willows, poplars and fig-trees. The plain has almost the appearance of a great forest, with its plantations of peaches, apricots, pears, plums and other fruit-trees. In the midst of the orchard-land lies the town of Urumiah, situated on a height some four hundred feet above the level of the lake. It is the reputed birthplace of Zoroaster. Towards the west rise the bare mountains, wild and menacing. The lake itself lies 4,100 feet above sea-level, and the hills quickly attain a height of 12,000 feet above the sea, an Alpine range looking down from its snow-covered summits upon the plain at its feet. We enter upon a wild and rugged wilderness of mountains, full of deep gorges and valleys, with wild torrents rushing over mighty blocks of stone. Higher and higher rise the chains up to 14,000 feet and more. There is no proper road over this wilderness of rocks. The isolated valleys, or valley systems, are separated from one another as by walls. Everywhere there are inaccessible cliffs, deep hollows, precipitous rocks, affording a last refuge to the pursued. For whole days the traveller passes through this paradise of bandits, until he sees, stretched out like a map before him, the wide-spreading plain of Mesopotamia. In this wild, pathless mountain region Nestorians have their homes in about three hundred villages hidden away in twenty-five upland valleys. Unfortunately they are split

up into many tribes, each of which jealously guards its own rights. The patriarch, who lives in Kotchhannes in the neighbourhood of Julamerk on the Zavi, in one of the wildest valleys, is at once their religious and their secular head. Until the year 1843 the Nestorians maintained their independence against the hordes of Kurds, which surrounded and threatened them. In that year the powerful Kurdish chiefs, Nurallah Bey and Bedr Khan, entered into an alliance with Turkey. While the Nestorians were quarrelling with one another, the Kurds fell with fearful ferocity upon their defenseless opponents, taking possession of valley after valley, and fortress after fortress, and slaughtering 11,000 Nestorians in the space of a few weeks. With that the independence of the Nestorians was a thing of the past, and there has been imposed on them by the Turks a heavy burden of taxation, the amount of which is being raised from year to year. When one looks at their homes among the rocks and at the tiny fields, one wonders how they can pay any taxes at all. In order to do so they sell their sheep and mules at less than their value, and when they have nothing left, they either emigrate or starve. There is but one explanation of this senseless treatment by the Turks; they want to ruin their Christian subjects. And this they are fast accomplishing. Compared with these Nestorians of the mountains the 25,000 living in the plain of Urumiah have an easy time. They are, indeed, heavily taxed by the Persian officials, but they are able to hold their own, though they are, almost without exception, poor. Any one possessing property of the value of £100 is considered a rich man.

Ever since the Syrians adopted Nestorius' doctrine of the dual nature, there has been no further development in their theology. This may be attributed partly to the Syrian character, which, though impulsive in new undertakings, and often powerful in carrying them out, is not constructive either in theology or ecclesiastical organization. Another reason is probably that this Church was compelled to fight for its existence, not against heresies, but

against Islam and heathenism. In their literature we find different views on most doctrinal questions, with the exception of the dogmas of the dual nature and of the inspiration of the Bible. Thus transubstantiation is both defended and attacked. There is, on the other hand, a general practical tendency to lay stress on simple faith in the crucified and risen Saviour. Even greater importance is attached to works of the law. Fasts hold the largest place in their ecclesiastical life, though vows and pilgrimages are almost equally important. The priests are regarded as successors of the Levitical priesthood. They are, however, not ordinarily called priests, but go by the name of *kasha*, that is, elder, presbyter.

Unfortunately for the Syrian Church, Russia, the nearest Christian country, has proved, especially in the last half century, an attraction not only to honest labouring men, but also to the priests, who make tours among the superstitious peasants of Southern Russia, and, under the pretense of collecting money for some church, saint's shrine, or miracle-working image, receive thousands of rubles, which they afterwards squander in riotous living. In Russia they appear in the guise of piety, but they come home as godless mockers. The ordaining of such men as "priests" or "deacons," before they set out upon their predatory excursions, is a chief source of income of the bishops, the high fees charged for ordination being willingly paid, since the title of priest pays so well. The opening up of Western Persia has enabled these itinerant beggars to extend their collecting tours far and wide over the Christian world.

Protestant Missions in Persia

1. *The work of the American Board*,[1] *1834–1870*

The American Board began its work in Persia among the small, courageous Syrian people, and there it continued to

[1] Perkins, "Missionary Life in Persia." Shedd, "Islam and the Oriental Churches." Jewett, "Twenty-five Years in Persia." Marsh, "A Tennessean in Persia." Biographies of Stoddard, Lobdell, Rhea, and of Fidelia Fiske ("Woman and her Saviour in Persia;" "Faith Working in Love").

have its chief work in this country for half a century. It was a revelation to the Christianity of the West when, in 1830, the American missionaries, Smith and Dwight, after visiting the Nestorians, gave their experiences to the world in their book, "Christian Researches in Armenia" (Boston, 1833). They had found the Nestorians in a state of deep intellectual and spiritual degradation. There were among them not more than twenty or thirty men, and only one woman, able to read. There were no printed books, but only here and there written portions of the Bible, and nowhere a complete Bible even in writing. The language of public worship was exclusively Ancient Syriac, which hardly half a dozen of the priests themselves understood. There was no preaching at all. The mother tongue of the Nestorians is Modern Syriac, which, though not a development of the Ancient Syriac of the Peshito, is yet an almost pure dialect of Aramaic, the only remaining branch of the ancient Aramaic-Syriac family of languages. But this rough dialect was not as yet a written language, and had never been scientifically studied. This depressingly low intellectual condition was the more surprising since the Roman Catholics had succeeded, by craft and intrigue, in effecting the ecclesiastical subjection of the Nestorians, particularly of those living to the west, on the Mesopotamian side of the mountains. But they had done little either for the religious improvement or for the intellectual elevation of the people. Yet the Nestorians are distinguished above all other Oriental Churches by the childlike confidence with which they received the missionaries, and by their often touching eagerness to acquire knowledge. They felt intensely their degraded and neglected condition, and joyfully welcomed the missionaries as their helpers and instructors.

It was in the year 1834 that the first American missionary, the Rev. Justin Perkins, D. D., arrived in Urumiah. Dr. A. Grant, a physician, followed him in 1835. Further help was soon sent, and, compared with the other missions of this society, the mission in Persia was extraordinarily soon under way. In 1836 a "seminary" was opened. This was a board-

ing-school for boys, and was for decades the centre of educational work among men. In 1838 a seminary for girls was added, at first only as a day-school and on a very simple scale; but, on the coming of Fidelia Fiske, a niece of Pliny Fiske, the pioneer missionary in Syria, oriental prejudices were defied, an attempt being made to turn the institution into a boarding-school, and, in a few years, the attempt was crowned with success. Then, in 1837, a printing-press arrived in Trebizond, on its way to Urumiah; since it proved, however, to be too heavy and large for transport over the mountains, the Board sent another more suitable press in 1839, and also an experienced compositor, who, following Dr. Perkins' instructions, and making use of the characters which he supplied, founded suitable type, with which he at once began to print. Dr. Grant worked up in a very short time such a large practice that he could scarcely manage it. Five years after the arrival of the first missionaries, the work was thus in full operation. It is true that, for a time, the missionaries made use of small contrivances which would have been unnecessary had their missionary experience been greater. Thus the pupils of the lower grades received sixpence as a reward for good attendance, and those in the upper classes a shilling, under the name of "support."

It was particularly pleasing that the Nestorian clergy were willing to associate themselves with the missionaries, who thus almost at once acquired a staff of helpers, many of whom proved to be capable men. Among the first of these helpers were three bishops and two priests, all but one of whom lived in the missionary settlement. Among the first students in the seminary, there were two bishops, three priests and four deacons, all, of course, adults, who were making use of this opportunity to supplement their defective education.

One of the first and most important tasks was the translation of the Bible into Modern Syriac, after the indispensable preparatory work of studying the language scientifically and reducing it to a system of writing had been accomplished. This work was done by Perkins and Stoddard. Dr. Perkins

spent ten years of his busy life in translating the Bible. The New Testament appeared in 1846 in an edition containing in parallel columns the Ancient and the Modern Syriac versions, because of the almost superstitious popular veneration for the language of the Peshito.

In connection with this work of raising Modern Syriac to a written language, and of providing it with a literature, it was a great help to the missionaries that Western orientalists took a lively interest in the new language, and rendered much assistance in the work of scientific study. The division of labour was, in general, this, that the missionaries provided the manuscripts, while the scholars undertook the more scientific part of the linguistic work. The first Modern Syriac grammar was written by the learned Dr. Stoddard, and was entitled, "A Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. V, 1853). On this was based Theodor Noeldeke's masterly "Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprache" (Leipsic, 1868). The most prominent student of Modern Syriac at the present day is Prof. A. M. MacLean of Oxford, who has published a "Grammar of the Dialects of the Vernacular Syriac" (Cambridge, 1895), and a "Dictionary of the Dialects of the Vernacular Syriac" (Oxford, 1900). The American missionaries were meanwhile supplying modern Christian literature. In addition to the Bible, such books as Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" and Baxter's "Saints' Rest," as well as theological tracts and stories, were translated and printed. The mission press was an important part of the mission. Between the years 1839 and 1873, 110,000 volumes, with 21,250,000 pages, were published; and the Syriac type used was, at that time, the best in existence, being copied by the scholars of Europe.

The Urumiah Mission grew so quietly in the first thirty-five years of its existence, until 1870, that it seems best to take a general survey of the work, rather than to give a history of consecutive events. A threatening enemy, against which the mission had ever to be on the alert, was the rival Jesuit mission of the Lazarists. In 1838, four years later than the

Americans, the Lazarists came to Persia, turning first to the Armenians and Persians living in the large towns. But here they made themselves so obnoxious that, within two years, they were sent away. They thereupon turned to the Nestorians, the more readily since they observed that the Protestant mission had there gained ground quickly. Threatened here also with banishment, they succeeded in holding their ground only by appealing to the powerful aid of the French ambassador. They were untiring in their intrigues against the Americans, now inciting the Persian authorities to banish them, now uniting with the opposing Nestorian bishops in counteracting the work of the mission, now capturing churches by force or by guile. More than once the American missionaries were compelled to undertake fatiguing journeys at unfavourable seasons of the year, in order to save the mission from ruin.

A characteristic feature of the Nestorian Mission is the religious revivals, which occurred two or three times in every decade, the first of them being in 1836. The revivals usually ran the same course. Beginning with the boys or the girls in the seminary, they spread thence throughout the town of Urumiah, and afterwards more or less widely into the surrounding district. The village of Geogtapa, especially, some five miles south of Urumiah, received almost always its share of the blessing. A deep sense of sin, often touching earnestness in prayer, and an eager desire for the Word of God marked those who were awakened. The missionaries had often trouble to keep the excitement within bounds. These revivals widened the influence of the mission. Thus the mission gradually extended its work to the villages around Urumiah, one after the other. The priests and even the bishops themselves were the chief agents. Branch schools were opened, and, in as many places as possible, Sunday-schools and preaching services were inaugurated, the missionaries diligently endeavouring to keep in touch with these outposts by frequent visits. At first the priests and deacons of the ancient faith were gladly employed, in spite of their defective previous

training, since through them it was easier to come into touch with the people. But gradually they were replaced as far as was possible by more proficient teachers and preachers, who, like their wives, had been trained in the seminaries in Urumiah. At the same time the missionaries carefully avoided doing anything that might seem to interfere with the old ecclesiastical arrangements, or that had the appearance of proselytism. They were determined in every possible way to avoid a break with the ancient Church and the founding of Protestant congregations. The assistants of the missionaries continued to be bishops, priests and deacons of their own Church. The ancient Syriac liturgy was retained both in public worship and in the administration of the sacraments.

The missionaries, of course, always insisted that there should be abundant preaching of the Gospel in Modern Syriac, in addition to the more or less unintelligible liturgies. In this way the sermon became a new and important, perhaps a predominant, element in the services of those congregations which came under the influence of the mission. At first the Lord's Supper was celebrated in Protestant fashion only in the missionary circle. Yet it could hardly give offense if they should admit into this circle the more advanced Christians of their acquaintance, when specially requested to do so. This they began to do, and there can be no question that such earnest seekers found more edification and richer blessing in these simple celebrations of the Lord's Supper than in the overloaded masses of their ancient Church. Very slowly the mission took another step in the same direction. They would admit to the Lord's Supper any who applied, on condition that such persons, in a previous, private interview with the missionaries, convinced the latter that they were sufficiently advanced in the evangelical faith. Next they began to appoint regular days in the villages in which those who had been thus admitted lived, on which the Lord's Supper was celebrated there in the simple Protestant manner. In 1855 a "Protestant congregation" was established, with 158 mem-

bers, and in 1862 a native presbytery was organized. Could the ancient Church tolerate within her borders this foreign organization, which was to a great extent independent of her, and was chiefly composed of pupils of the mission, or was there bound to be a rupture?

A great majority of the Nestorians live, as we have seen, in the mountains of Kurdistan, and especially in the districts of Hakkiari and Bohtan, in the high-lying valleys of Tiary, Amadia, and Gawar. In 1839 Dr. Grant, the medical missionary, endeavoured to establish friendly relations with these Nestorians and their Patriarch. Several things contributed to make regular mission work in the mountains impossible. In the first place, work among these wild mountains meant great fatigue and privation. Then there were the predatory Kurds, with whose friendship the missionaries could not dispense if their lives were to be safe, and from whose attacks one was never secure even then. There was also political unrest, for the Turks were endeavouring to subdue Kurds and Nestorians alike, playing the one against the other most skillfully. Above all, there was the ever-shifting policy of successive patriarchs, who were politicians rather than religious leaders, and who, as such, were ever ready to favour those who could best protect them against the Turks and Kurds. After twenty years of romantic adventures and of hardships, to which the untiring pioneer, Dr. Grant, and several of his successors succumbed, the missionaries came to the conclusion that it was impossible for them to gain a permanent footing in the mountains. They altered their plans, and, instead of sacrificing any more precious lives, employed native helpers as much as possible in that region, the missionaries paying occasional visits, and regular reports being sent to Urumiah. This was merely a makeshift, especially when one remembers that it was in the mountains that the chief strength of the Syrian population lay. And the missionaries were compelled at last to recognize the painful fact that they had not been successful in exercising any powerful influence on the mountain Nestorians, either as a Church or as a nation, and that they would

probably continue to be unsuccessful in the future. Their failure was partly due to the all too great difference between this democratic mission, and that rigid national Church, with its hierarchical institutions. A still more powerful cause of that failure was the tangle of secular and religious interests, which proved here, as among the other Oriental Churches, to be a check on efforts at reform. Since the Patriarch and his associates aimed chiefly at preserving the inherited independence of the nation, they considered the religious question to be of secondary importance, and consequently judged all religious agencies according to their ability to aid in gaining or retaining political power. Hand in hand with this was the obstinate oriental conservatism, which holds fast to anything ancient, however foolish it may be; they clung to their unintelligible Ancient Syriac liturgy, to the equally unintelligible Ancient Syriac Bible, to sacramental errors in doctrine and practice, to veneration of the saints and to strict fasting. Against all this neither evangelical knowledge nor evangelical liberty could contend.

A brief account must be given of some of the missionaries and Syrian helpers belonging to this period.

The founder of the mission of the American Board in Persia, the Rev. Dr. Perkins,[1] was the soul of the work in Urumiah for thirty-five years, until his death in 1869. His greatest service was the literary work he did. In addition to his useful translation of the Bible, he prepared other books in Modern Syriac, *e. g.*, commentaries on Genesis and Daniel. We have already mentioned one of his colleagues, Dr. Asahel Grant,[2] a pioneer among the mountain Nestorians. He was a courageous man, calm but firm. His great medical skill, his utter devotion to his Saviour, his tactfulness, won him the confidence even of men who did not trust one another. His fearlessness even in the greatest dangers, the calm ascendency which he exercised over the bandits, and his unswerving faith amidst

[1] Justin Perkins, "A Residence of Eight Years in Persia Among the Nestorians," New York, 1893. "Life of Dr. Justin Perkins."

[2] Grant, "The Nestorians the Lost Tribes," London, 1893.

painful disappointments, enabled him to prosecute his life's work in the dreary, bandit-haunted mountains.

Between 1840 and 1860 there were two noteworthy missionaries in Urumiah, Dr. Stoddard and Fidelia Fiske. Both were of a deep and ardent piety. It was their glowing love to the Saviour that lit the fire of the revivals in the two seminaries which they superintended.

Stoddard was slight of build, and of an almost feminine gracefulness, resembling what we are wont to think must have been the appearance of the Beloved Disciple. Having once devoted himself to the service of the mission, he put his whole soul into it. People in America and Persia who came into contact with him received the impression, thus described by a theological professor from America:—"He passes through the churches like a flaming Seraph. So heavenly-minded a spirit is seldom met with in our country."

Fidelia Fiske was only fifteen years in Urumiah (1843–1858), being all that time at the head of the seminary for girls, upon which she left so strong a mark that, to the present day, it goes by the name of the "Fidelia Fiske Seminary." Few missionaries in Persia have had the joy of leading so many souls to the Saviour.

Of the Syrian helpers in the mission we shall mention only two. Bishop Elias died in December, 1863, aged more than eighty years. He had always been a man of deep piety, with an earnest longing for salvation. Although he was already fifty years old when the missionaries came, he welcomed them with joy, and at once allied himself with them, trusting them implicitly as true servants of his God. He was a thoroughly honest and simple-minded man, loving the Bible ardently, and having it ever with him. His last exhortation to those who gathered round his death-bed was, "Children, hold fast to the Word of God!" He was a bright example of how useful a worker a Nestorian may be. Barely a year later, in the autumn of 1864, Deacon Isaac died. Had you seen him in his simple clothing, and with his modest manner, you would not have thought that he belonged to the highest nobility of his coun-

try, nor that he had in his youth often fought against Kurdish bandits. He was a brother of the Patriarch, and it was painful to him that the latter proved to be so unreliable, and that he held more and more aloof from the mission, even putting obstacles in its way. Yet the Patriarch's family was proud of Isaac. Though he had been brought up in a society in which even nobles did not blush when caught telling a lie, his word could be implicitly believed. People seeking redress of wrongs crowded his courtyard, knowing that he would pronounce judgment without respect of persons, and would take neither payment nor present, though all around him were open to bribery. While his countrymen treated their wives with deliberate contempt, he held his faithful wife Martha in high respect, and they led together an exemplary married life. At the same time he was by nature of a proud and passionate disposition. When once a French Lazarist offended him, he sprang up in wrath, and grasped the sword at his side; but from that day he carried his sword no more.

2. The American Presbyterian Mission among the Nestorians,[1] 1870–1908

Like the mission in Syria (Chapter IV, A, 3), the Persian Mission was transferred by the American Board in the autumn of 1870 to the American Presbyterians. The second period in the history of the mission in Persia now began. A wider work than that in Urumiah was at once undertaken, but we will first follow the development of the Urumiah Mission. When the Presbyterians took over the mission work here, they found about 700 people who attended the Protestant celebration of the communion, and about 960 children in the schools. No official separation from the Nestorian Church had yet been effected, the leading missionary, Justin Perkins, having been decidedly opposed to this step up to the time of his death in

[1] S. G. Wilson, "Persia, the Western Mission"; Rev. James Bassett, "Persia, the Eastern Mission"; Wishard, "Twenty-five Years in Persia"; Wilson, "Persian Life and Customs"; Bassett, "The Land of the Imams."

1869. But it was now recognized that separation was unavoidable, and the Protestants were organized into the "Reformed Nestorian Church." It was by no means with a light heart that this step was taken, but a conviction had grown that the organization of the ancient Church could not be thoroughly reformed in the evangelical spirit; that its services could not be adapted to modern needs; that there would ever be a remnant of the old half-heathenish leaven. Yet, even up to the time of the Russian invasion, of which we shall speak later, opinions differed among the missionaries themselves as to whether a rupture was absolutely unavoidable, and whether a new, completely independent Church would be altogether an advantage. Since the large secessions to the Russian Church, such doubts have been laid to rest. Facts have proved that the Presbyterians acted rightly. As everywhere in the Near East, the establishment of a new Church involved immense difficulties of organization, which only decades could overcome. The influence of the American Mission was strong only among the 25,000 Nestorians living on Persian territory. But even in this district there were hardly any accessions of whole villages or families; for the most part only individuals, of whom more than half were women, joined the new Church. And the number grew but slowly. According to the statistics given in the Mission Report of 1907, there were at that time in the "Reformed Church" 2,658 communicants, belonging to 961 families, thirty-eight per cent. being men, and sixty-two per cent. women. The adherents numbered about 5,000, 3,770 adults and 3,180 children attending the Sunday services. These live for the most part in Urumiah and the villages of the Urumiah plain, though a few come from the adjacent plains of Salmas in the north and Sulduz in the south, and from the valleys of the Kurd mountains, Beranduz, Tergawar, Margawar and others. There were a few good-sized congregations, in Geogtapa, Gulpashan, Degala, Charigushi, Charbash, all in the Urumiah plain; and also smaller groups of Protestants, or even single individuals, living scattered over the country.

It was difficult to provide pastoral care for all these Prot-

estants. Having been accustomed, as Nestorians, to a more than abundant supply of clergymen, both of superior and of inferior rank, each little group of Protestants now wanted its own ordained minister. But, as they had not been in the habit of paying their Nestorian ministers regular salaries, it was hard to induce them to provide salaries, however small, for their Protestant ministers. The Board attacked the problem at first by dividing the country of the Nestorians in Persia into fifty districts, each containing 500 members, and by doing its best to provide each of these districts with a minister. In accordance with this scheme thirty-five such ministers were actually appointed. Thus they brought the entire Nestorian Church in Persia within the sound and under the influence of the Gospel; and, when they had, in addition, founded their village schools, of which there were at times as many as sixty-three, with 1,666 pupils, it might have been supposed that they had made ample provision for the evangelization of that part of Persia. Yet this extensive plan had its serious drawbacks. It was really a missionary organization adapted to reach the entire Nestorian people, rather than a church and school system for the Protestants. And the Protestants could not be made to feel financial responsibility for carrying out a plan which so far exceeded their own needs, particularly as, up to that time, a generous supply of money had come from America. Besides, the people were too poor to have maintained such an extensive organization, even had they wished to do so. The Presbyterians, however, as is well known, attach great importance to the placing of their congregations on an independent ecclesiastical and financial basis.

A change was therefore made; it was decided to limit the organization to the needs of the existing congregations. This was a difficult matter. The grouping of four or five villages into a parish was often frustrated by the childish insistence of each village upon having its own minister. And, in localities where the members were widely scattered, it was impossible to form parishes small enough to be cared for by a single pastor, and, at the same time, containing members enough to be able

to pay the minister's salary. To the present day two-thirds of the expenses of maintaining the churches, and three-fourths of the salaries paid to the ministers are supplied from America.

Urumiah continued to be the main station, other stations being only temporarily occupied. All the chief institutions of the mission are in Urumiah. The schools for girls are, in the main, still conducted along the lines marked out by the American Board. The Fidelia Fiske Seminary is, as formerly, the crown of the system. In the system of education for boys considerable changes were made. We have seen that the American Board early founded a "seminary" for boys. This seminary was intended to be a school for the training of catechists, of whom a large number were needed, since the mission felt that the best plan for exercising a deep influence on the Nestorian Church was to train two boys out of each village, in Urumiah, at the expense of the mission, and then to send them back home to act as paid helpers. But this plan failed, since most of those who were thus pressed into mission service were unfitted for such work by reason of their lack of spirituality. The plan was therefore discontinued by the Presbyterians. After making for ten years various changes in the boys' seminary, they raised it to the status of a college with three parallel courses, an arts course, a divinity course, and a medical course. There are not always students in the latter two courses. In this form the college has become an important institution for the entire Nestorian people, who can nowhere else find an education so good as is here available. As the Syrians in general are intelligent, and hungry for education, the college has been well attended. Between 1878 and 1896, one hundred and ten students passed the final examination, thirty-six of whom, it is pleasant to report, entered the service of the mission. Here again, however, a peculiar difficulty, common in the Near East, presented itself. Since Christians are excluded from the service of the state, and from the most lucrative professions, such students as did not enter the service of the mission were practically forced to

emigrate. And such emigration was the easier because of the valuable knowledge of the English language which they had acquired while in the college where English was, almost of necessity, the medium of instruction. This emigration to Europe and the United States, so disastrous to Protestant missions and Churches throughout the Near East, increased in proportion to the mismanagement of the Persian government, and the impoverishment of the Syrians through overtaxation and the constant raids of the Kurds.

The printing establishment in Urumiah was conducted on a limited scale, the annual output being about 800,000 pages of Modern Syriac. In addition to the necessary books for church and school, tracts, leaflets, an occasional larger book, and a weekly paper, *The Rays of Light*, are published.

The Presbyterians, soon after they took over the mission, began an important medical work in Urumiah. With the large sums placed at their disposal they built the Westminster Hospital, placing Dr. Joseph Cochran (1878–1895), a distinguished physician, at its head.

Not only was Dr. Cochran's extensive practice in itself a great blessing, his work also so increased the respect for Christianity among the Kurds and Persians that the Christians were less subjected to oppression and violence. One of the best examples of this occurred in 1880, when the Kurdish sheikh, Obeid Allah, surrounded Urumiah, threatening to bombard it. In the midst of the general panic and despair, Cochran, at that time a youth of twenty-five, came forward and succeeded in inducing the sheikh to march away from Urumiah, pointing out to him the many benefits which the Kurds had derived from the medical mission.

Little could be done by the Presbyterians for the Nestorians living in the mountains on the Turkish border. A few Syrian preachers and catechists worked among them, and now and then a Syrian doctor, who had been trained by Dr. Cochran; two boarding-schools and twelve primary-schools were also maintained. The missionaries made an effort, in spite of the increasing insecurity of the region, to keep in touch with these

outposts by means of regular visits; but such visits were often for years at a time impossible.[1]

3. Missionary Competition

When one considers that the Nestorians of Persia number at most 25,000, and that there are only 80,000 of the mountain Nestorians, whom it is so hard to reach, one could wish that the Presbyterians might have been left to carry on mission work among them alone. But we have already told how the French Lazarists entered into competition with them there. We must, in this section, give some account of a host of rival missions.

It was unpleasant for the Americans when, in 1881, a small German Lutheran mission began work in the Urumiah district. A Syrian priest, Kasha Pera Johannes, who had wandered into Germany, had met with much sympathy from Rev. Theodor Harms, pastor of Hermannsburg, and, with his help, had aroused the interest of certain Lutherans, in Alsace and in the province of Hannover, in a plan to reform the Nestorian Church according to the Lutheran Protestant faith, without establishing an independent Church. Returning home, Pera Johannes settled in Wazirabad in the neighbourhood of Urumiah, becoming a pastor within the Nestorian Church. Kasha Yaure Abraham of Geogtapa, five miles to the south of Urumiah, associated himself with Johannes. Plentifully supplied with money from Hermannsburg, these two tried to disseminate Lutheran ideas in their small congregations.

More serious for the Presbyterian work was the entrance of the Anglican Mission. After the Presbyterian Mission be-

[1] Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, who travelled among the mountain Nestorians for two months, tells us that they are lovers of the Bible :—"The Bible is free, and is to be found in every house, and every one is able to read it. Daily, morning and evening, they read a good portion when they assemble in their churches. It is not customary to have family worship; instead of this they meet at sunrise in the church, when Psalms and other portions of Scripture are read."

gan to form separate congregations, the leaders of the Nestorian Church, especially the Patriarch Mar Shimun, and those who stood nearest to him, were on the lookout for another mission, which would leave their Church intact, and would act as a counterpoise to the increasing influence of the Presbyterians. The attention of the leaders of the Anglican Church had already been attracted to the Nestorians. In 1835 the Royal Geographical Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had sent a joint expedition to Kurdistan, to make enquiries concerning the land and its people, especially, also, to look into ecclesiastical matters. The result was that, in 1842, Archbishop Howley, with the assistance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, sent a learned missionary, the Rev. G. P. Badger, to Mosul, to begin work among the mountain Nestorians. Just at that time the Kurdish sheikh, Bedr Khan, was raging in the mountains of Kurdistan. The general confusion and disorder were such that Badger had to return in despair to England within a year.

Thirty-four years passed before another missionary, Rev. E. L. Cutts, was sent to Kurdistan, and he, too, left within a year. His successor, the Scandinavian Wahl, pressed forward into the heart of Kurdistan and established himself in Kotchhannes and Duzza, where he remained five years (1880–1885), amidst great deprivations. In the year 1886 the Archbishops of Canterbury and York organized this mission under the misleading title, "Assyrian Mission," with the purpose of reforming the Nestorian Church from within. And there was room enough for the Anglicans, if only they would devote themselves to the Syrians in the mountains, among whom the Presbyterians had gained so little foothold. But this the Anglicans did only in that one of their missionaries settled in Kotchhannes, some 7,000 feet above sea-level, where it was almost impossible to remain during the winter. The headquarters of their mission they established in Urumiah. This was inconsiderate treatment of the Presbyterians, made worse by the action of the Anglicans in publicly announcing that

they had come to defend the Nestorians against the Americans. Friction naturally resulted.

The Anglicans sent out able men of learning and culture. It is not by chance that we owe to them a good literature dealing with the Nestorians.[1] They also deserve the credit of having discovered valuable ecclesiastical treasures in the Ancient Syriac language, which, by their reprints, they have made accessible not only to the scholars of Europe, but also to the Syrian clergy. In contrast with the Americans, who had made Modern Syriac a written language, and had methodically used it in their publications, the Anglicans endeavoured to teach the Syrian clergy the ancient ecclesiastical language. This language they also taught in their schools. Their printing-press in Urumiah was their chief agency. Apart from this their work lacked continuity, especially since their missionaries did not stay longer than five years, or at the most, ten years in Urumiah, only one remaining for twenty years. They established a boys' boarding-school, and one for girls, in Urumiah, while in Kotchhannes they maintained during five months in the summer a boarding-school for the sons of priestly families, who were themselves to become priests. For a time they had three or four lady missionaries and a medical missionary in Urumiah. In addition, they established village schools throughout the territory inhabited by the Nestorians, even in the remotest valleys, the number of these schools being at times as high as eighty.

Most fateful for the history of the ancient Nestorian Church was the Russian invasion of 1898. We have already seen that the emigration of Nestorians had brought the people into close relations with Southern Russia. After the great Kurdish attack in 1880, the position of the Christians, unprotected as they were by the Persian government, grew to be well-nigh unbearable. The fearful Armenian massacres showed the

[1] Dr. Badger, "Nestorians and their Rituals," 1843; Riley, "Narrative of a Visit to the Assyrian Christians in Kurdistan," 1884; A. F. Maclean, "The Catholicos of the East and his People"; W. Browne, "The Liturgy of the Apostles Adai and Mari"; O. H. Parry, "Six Months in a Syrian Monastery."

Syrians what was in store for themselves, should they be delivered into the hands of the Kurds. Moreover, Russia's intention to occupy the province of Azerbaijan became more and more transparent. At this juncture the idea entered the brain of Mar Yonan, an adventurous Syrian bishop, that the Syrian Church should throw itself into the arms of Russia by joining the Russian Church; she was thus to gain the protection of the Russian eagle and to be made master of the country. This misguided plan found unexpected acceptance with the oppressed Syrians, especially since a report was abroad that the Russians were ready to come to their help as a Church with untold millions of rubles. Thus it came to pass that in the spring of 1897 the Nestorian bishop, Mar Yonan, and Mirza Joseph Khan Arsenius set out for St. Petersburg, with a lengthy petition in their hands. As a result, two Russian monks and a married priest arrived in Urumiah on the 25th of May, 1897, to spy out the land. They were enthusiastically welcomed by the Nestorian population, being accorded a triumphal entry. Men and women sang and danced around them; they were greeted as deliverers from the yoke of the Moslems. The Christians shouted to the astonished Moslems that it was now their turn, and that Christians would soon have their feet on the necks of their old oppressors, and would occupy their houses and fields. Bishop Mar Yonan himself led the Russian invasion, which was crowned with great success. The alluring promises of Russian protection were most effective, for ten or fifteen thousand Nestorians signed their names in the lists of the Russian monks. The Protestant congregations themselves caught the infection, and hundreds of Protestants joined the members of the ancient Church, any who refused to do so being treated with scorn, and even beaten. In the summer the monks returned to St. Petersburg, and there followed some months of intense excitement for the Nestorians, until Russia should decide what action to take. On the 6th of April, 1898, there was an extraordinary meeting of the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg, to which a deputation of Nestorian priests was invited, Bishop Mar Yonan at their head. It was determined

that the members of this deputation should be received into the Orthodox Church, and that they should retain their former stations and offices. The ceremony of reception took place with much pomp the next day, in the famous Alexander Newski monastery. At once it was resolved to establish a mission in Urumiah. On their way thither the Russian missionaries received into the orthodox communion a colony of from 800 to 1,500 Nestorians in Tiflis. In Tabriz the missionaries were ceremoniously received by the Russian consul-general, and also by the frightened Persian authorities. In Urumiah they began without delay to receive into their Church the Nestorians who had entered their names in the lists. Many of these had repented of their action in the matter, but it was now too late to draw back. By promises, persuasions and threats, village after village was induced to abjure the "errors of Nestorius," and to sign a paper in which they accepted the Orthodox faith. Twenty thousand of the 25,000 Nestorians in Persia thus joined the Russian Church.

Even in the Oriental Churches, with their many vacillations, there had never been so great a falling away. Where was now the incorruptible loyalty of the Syrians to their ancient Church, which had been so lauded by the Anglicans and Lutherans? Both these missions were compelled to undergo the pain of witnessing how even the congregations in which their influence was strongest went over en masse to the Russian Church. Nor did the Americans require any further proof of the correctness of their assertion that the only way to help the Syrian Church was by Protestant reorganization. On the whole, it was only their congregations that remained steadfast, their church organization proving strong enough to resist this attack.

The Russian conquest swept over the country like a storm. It was years, however, before its effects could be fully appreciated. The Reformed Nestorian Church of the Presbyterians suffered little permanent damage; only a few hundreds of members left it, and these soon came back repentant, so that a year later the Presbyterians were able to report an increase

of membership. The position of the Protestants towards the other Nestorians had, to be sure, undergone a complete change, and this change was at first unfavourable. Whereas, before the storm, there had been no sharp split between their congregations and the ancient Church, so that the missionaries had been able to work as preachers and teachers in the Syrian Church at large, there was now a deep cleft between the "Russian" Christians and those of the Reformed Church. It was hardly possible to exercise any considerable influence upon the seceders in their first zeal. Yet those who gradually became dissatisfied with the Russian Church, and desired to leave it, usually preferred to join the Protestant fold, where they felt that they had solid ground under their feet, rather than to return to the ancient Nestorian Church. In this way the number of members of the Reformed Church increased from 2,100 to 3,161 during the last decade.

But what was to become of the "Assyrian" Mission of the Anglicans in Persia? There was practically no longer an independent Nestorian Church, and it was impossible to work as Protestants within the bounds of the Russian Orthodox Church. Equally impossible was it that the Anglicans should make proselytes among the Nestorian members of the Russian Church, or even assist such as wished to return to their ancient Church, for the Greek Church was, like the ancient Nestorian, also a sister Church, since it, too, held the doctrine of an "historic episcopate." The Anglicans have consequently transferred the main part of their work to the other side of the Turkish border, where they have made Van a new centre from which to reach the Syrians of the mountains. They have been gradually striking their tents in Urumiah. Their medical missionary and lady missionaries have returned to England. Their boys' boarding-school has been closed, and work in the Urumiah plain discontinued.

The Russians have made themselves at home in this easily acquired ecclesiastical province. Thanks to their political backing, their influence is almost supreme. Political influence has secured for them a commanding site outside Urumiah for the

building of a cathedral. They are in possession of all the old churches and benefices, and have no intention of spending their own money on the support and development of the Church. Many of their converts have returned to their senses, especially since Russia's terrible political collapse during, and after, the war against Japan, it having become apparent that the hopes entertained of help from Russia were not likely to be fulfilled. These would gladly return to their old Church, if only they could. But this is a very difficult matter. Some of the congregations are instituting legal proceedings to recover their churches from the Russians, and have been in some cases successful, thanks to the help afforded by the foreign consuls.

The most unpleasant and regrettable after-affect of these upheavals is the overrunning of this tiny country by small societies. Nestorian adventurers go to America and Europe, where, by touching stories and exaggerated descriptions of the work they are doing, they win the interest of credulous people. Then they return home with full pockets, and, with the continued support of the friends they have made, there enjoy the fruits of the "work" they have done in Christian countries. They open a few day-schools, build a chapel and engage a few Syrian helpers; they are now in a position to send glowing reports of their work to their easily satisfied friends in foreign lands.

Such small missionary undertakings have sprung up like mushrooms in Urumiah. The United Lutheran Church of America maintains a few kashas (Nestorian priests), and in 1905, sent an American missionary, the Rev. Mr. Fossum, to superintend the work. A Syrian congregation in Urumiah, which left the Russian Church, has joined this mission. The Swedish-American "Augustana Synode" employs a kasha who conducts two day-schools. The Evangelical Association for the Advancement of the Nestorian Church, which was founded in 1906 in Berlin, employs a kasha who has had a Lutheran training in Germany. He works in some degree of coöperation with the Anglicans, and has added a fourth to the

already existing mission printing establishments in Urumiah. This society gave birth to another, which also supports a kasha. For ten years Dr. Lepsius' German "Orientmission" maintained outside Urumiah an orphanage for Syrian fugitives from the mountains, but it is to be closed soon. The English Plymouth Brethren employ three or four kashas in the "Awishalum" Mission, named after the chief representative of the mission in Persia, Awishalum (Absalom) Seyad. There are also small missions connected with the American Dunkards, the Holiness Methodists, the American Southern Baptists, and the Northern Baptists, as well as a small body of English Congregationalists.

Before we take leave of Urumiah we must make mention of some of the leading American Presbyterian missionaries, and also glance at the hopeless political situation of the past two years, in the northwest corner of Persia and among the mountain Syrians. A most able member of the Presbyterian Mission was Dr. Cochran, of whom we have already spoken. A skillful surgeon, he enjoyed general respect, even among Muhammadans, on account of his devoted work as a medical missionary. He rendered highly valuable service, also, by training native Syrians to be doctors, or, at least, medical assistants. At the age of fifty he was removed by death (1905). In the circle of the missionaries the Labarees have been a prominent family. The venerable Dr. Benjamin Labaree served for forty-six years (1860–1906), though not continuously, in the Urumiah Mission, of which, particularly after his last return in 1898, he was the soul. In addition to his other activities he did good work as an author in the Modern Syriac language, and as a reviser of the Modern Syriac translation of the Bible. He had the joy of seeing a son and a daughter enter the service of the Persian Mission. This son, while making a missionary tour in the plain of Salmas to the north of Urumiah, was murdered, in the summer of 1905, by a fanatical sayid (a descendant of the Prophet), assisted by a horde of Bogzaba Kurds from the Dasht plain, which lies west of Urumiah. Such unprovoked murder of a

missionary was a thing unheard of; and it was the more surprising since the missionaries were supposed to be on particularly friendly terms with these Dasht Kurds, many of whom had derived much benefit from the mission hospital. Though urged to do so by the English and American consuls, the weak Persian government did not dare to assert its authority and punish the murderers. It was a comfort to the sorrowing father that another of his sons, at that time a minister in America, set out at once to take his brother's place. Dr. Labaree lived long enough to welcome his second son in Urumiah. Then, attacked by a serious illness, he died, while on the North Sea, on his way to seek the advice of German doctors, on the 9th of March, 1906.

During the last few years matters have gone from bad to worse in that northwestern corner of Persia. The wheat harvest failed for several years, and the people have suffered from famine. Nor have the Syrians been able to earn money in Russia, as thousands of them used to do, because of the revolution there. After the Armenian massacres of 1895 and 1896, also, tens of thousands of mountain Syrians and Armenians emigrated to Azerbaijan, where the Syrian families, in a noble spirit of hospitality, shared their last morsel with the newcomers, and thus impoverished themselves. In addition to all this, the Turks took advantage of the extremity of the people in 1907 to raise old boundary questions. They crossed the border with a considerable military force, established themselves in Souchbulak, and plundered the districts to the north and south of Urumiah.

It is a great pity that the main stock of the Syrians in the mountains of Kurdistan live in so inaccessible a region. And against missionaries from Urumiah the Turkish boundary is often closed for years at a time. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, a Presbyterian missionary passed year by year through the wilderness of Kurdish mountains, seeking in the most remote corners of the land the little companies of Christians. Twenty-eight Syrian preachers care for thirty-two small congregations with about 400 members. In forty-

eight villages there are schools with 841 pupils. In Baz there is a small boarding-school doing good work under the efficient and faithful supervision of a Syrian kasha. Most of the other schools are small, averaging ten or twelve pupils each. These schools are in session only four months, during the winter, which is entirely too short a term, especially for the larger villages, where there is increasing demand for better schools. The Presbyterian Mission is planning to found a new station on the Turkish side of the Nestorian territory, in Van, as a centre for a wider school work. But the uncertainty of the political situation has delayed the carrying out of this project. The Roman Catholic missionaries, who have their headquarters in Mosul, seem to be gaining ground in the midst of the general confusion, and are advancing up the river Zab. They have even won over some of the members of the Patriarch's family.

4. American Presbyterian Missions in Persia, Exclusive of the Mission among the Nestorians

When the Presbyterians entered Persia in 1870, they resolved not to confine their work to the mission among the Nestorians. In 1872 they opened a station in the capital, Teheran, and, in 1873, another in Tabriz, the capital and the most important commercial centre of the northwestern province of Azerbaijan. Since the miserable state of the roads made frequent communication between Urumiah and Teheran very difficult, and since a further extension of the work was planned, they soon divided the mission in Persia into the Western Persia Mission and the Eastern Persia Mission (1874).

It was extremely difficult to make a beginning in the new fields. Direct missionary work among Muhammadans, who constituted by far the larger part of the population, was almost impossible. Even ten years later, in 1880 and 1881, the situation had hardly changed, as is shown by an extensive and painful correspondence with the political authorities. It had been brought to the notice of the shah that religious

meetings on the mission premises in Teheran had been attended by certain Muhammadans. An order was immediately issued, not only forbidding the missionaries to give religious instruction to Mussulmans, but even ordering them to prevent the attendance of Mussulmans at their religious services. After careful consideration of the whole case, the mission made the following recommendations:—(1) It is the duty of all our missionaries and native helpers to answer in the spirit of meekness, and not of controversy, all who sincerely seek to know the way of life. (2) It is not our duty, nor is it wise to open schools for Mussulmans at the present time. (3) It should be left to each station to act in view of the aforesaid orders as the providence of God and evident duty may dictate. They submitted this reply to the British minister, through whom they were at that time in the habit of communicating with the Persian government. The minister answered that, "should the missionaries here or elsewhere allow Mussulmans to attend their religious services, they will imperil their position in the country, as the government would probably interfere with their work, if they did not even forbid their residing in Persia"!

In this strained situation it was wise that the Americans at first confined their labours to the non-Muhammadan parts of the population. There were scattered colonies of Nestorian Syrians to be cared for, and there was an important, though not very large, Armenian element. The Armenians were strongest in the villages of the Salmas plain and in the neighbourhood of Urumiah; they had colonies of considerable size in many of the large towns, such as Teheran, Tabriz, Resht, Kasvin, Hamadan and Julfa-Ispahan; and they in habited isolated groups of villages in the Karaghan Mountains, half-way between Teheran and Hamadan, and elsewhere. The number of these Armenians in Persia is generally stated to be about 100,000; but Lord Curzon, an authority on matters in Persia, thinks that there are no more than 43,000, besides the thousands of refugees who came over the Turkish frontier after the massacres of 1895 and 1896. Then there

are about 80,000 Jews scattered over Persia, most of them living in and about Hamadan, the old Ecbatana, the royal city of Queen Esther, though there are smaller colonies of them in Teheran, Tabriz and Urumiah.

It was new ground on which the Presbyterians entered. Henry Martyn had, indeed, spent eleven months in Shiraz; the Basle missionaries of the Transcaucasian Mission had intermittently occupied Tabriz as a mission station, between the years 1829 and 1837; after their withdrawal the Scotch missionary, Rev. William Glen, of the United Associate Synod of Scotland, had for some years his headquarters in the same commercial centre, whence he made extensive tours for Bible distribution; and missionaries to the Jews had from time to time visited the isolated Jewish colonies. But these were only sporadic efforts.

So the Presbyterians had to learn how to cope with unfamiliar and serious difficulties. The first decades of their patient work were days of sowing, in which the seed of the Word was scattered broadcast on the barren fields, in the hope that here or there a grain might fall on good land. Extensive tours were now and then undertaken, either by the missionaries themselves, or by their native assistants, to the extreme east, where the holy city of Meshhed lies, into the deserts of Central Persia as far as Yezd, to the Armenian and Jewish colonies in the neighbourhood of Hamadan, to the Armenian villages in the Karaghan Mountains, and to the thickly populated plains north of Urumiah as far as the Russian frontier. Schools for boys and girls were opened in Teheran and Tabriz. A footing was gained in Hamadan among the Armenians, and, some years later, among the Jews too, and was maintained in spite of the strong opposition of the Armenian archbishop and the Jewish rabbis. After many vicissitudes and trying persecutions of the Jewish Christians there, a new station was founded in this old and famous city, in 1881. Other openings presented themselves, in the village of Sheverine not far from Hamadan, in the scattered group of Armenian villages on the Karaghan Mountains, and among

the comparatively large Armenian population of the Salmas plain. Everywhere the work was uncertain at first. Either it transpired sooner or later that the Armenians merely wished to get cheap schools for their children, or the leaders of the old Church hindered every forward step by petty persecution and intrigue. An advance was made when, in 1884, against the strongest antagonism of the authorities, a fourth station was founded in the Salmas plain, near the village of Haftdevan. Congregations were formed in Teheran (1876), Hamadan (1876) and Resht (1883); but all of them were small, the largest, that in Teheran, numbering twelve members. A beginning was made with the training of a native ministry, some seven young men, most of them Armenians, being brought together in Teheran for a longer or shorter course of instruction, often interrupted by colportage tours or the requirements of some out-of-the-way village. A printing-press was sent to Teheran, but it was never really operated, since it was found cheaper to have the necessary books and tracts printed in Persian establishments. Every book, also, had to be approved by the censor of the press before publication, and it was easier for Persians to get through these annoyances than it would have been for an American printer. The schools were one of the hopeful features of the mission. At first it was out of the question to give instruction in Persian, since the authorities were so fearful that Muhammadan children might attend the schools; and for a time it was even doubtful whether the authorities would permit schools to be opened in which the Armenian language should be used. But the mission succeeded, though they could, at that time, admit no Muhammadan pupil. A good girls' boarding-school for Armenian girls was opened in the capital. A good many Muhammadans attended public worship in the mission chapels, especially in Teheran. Even two or three baptisms of converted Muhammadans gladdened the hearts of the lonely missionaries. But, on the whole, the work was very uphill and taxed the faith and endurance of the missionaries severely.

A fresh start was made when *medical missions* were begun

in 1878. The first medical mission, naturally, was opened in Urumiah. We have already mentioned the devoted and successful work of Dr. Joseph P. Cochran. In Tabriz and Teheran medical mission work was begun in 1881. In Tabriz the pioneer was Dr. G. W. Holmes, a distinguished physician, who, at the urgent request of the Persian crown prince, entered for some years his personal service, thus temporarily severing his connection with the mission. Both these stations were reinforced by the arrival of lady doctors, Dr. Mary Bradford coming to Tabriz in 1888, and Dr. Mary Smith to Teheran in 1890. In 1893 Dr. J. G. Wishard became head of the medical work in Teheran. Dispensaries were opened at once in both cities, and in the course of time hospitals were built. This medical work was a great blessing to Persians of all classes, for the native physicians and surgeons were extremely ignorant, dirty and unreliable. And Persia was visited almost regularly by the most dangerous epidemics, such as cholera, and the bubonic plague, which devastated whole districts, and decimated populous towns. Yet the medical missionaries had to overcome serious obstacles. The idea of the ceremonial cleanness of the orthodox Muhammadan, and of the uncleanness of the native or foreign Christian, was so deeply rooted that Muhammadans could scarcely force themselves to enter the house of a Christian physician, to be touched by his unclean hands, or to swallow medicines prepared by him. It was even more dangerous to stay under his roof in a hospital, daily exposed to the contamination of his presence, and to eat the food prepared by the cursed giaour. And the successful treatment of patients was rendered difficult by ignorance, carelessness and superstition. Patients swallowed salves to be applied externally, and rubbed their bodies with pills to be taken internally; they ate the paper in which a powder was wrapped, or tried to dissolve it with the powder in water. If the prescribed medicine did not help at the first dose, the patient lost all hope and went to a native quack. Besides, the conditions of life were very unfavourable for home treatment. The patient was found lying on the floor, in a room occupied by

the whole family, perhaps with pigs and fowls mixed up with the children, and a crowd of talking and troublesome visitors around him, even when the disease was contagious.

Yet European medical skill and Christian charity won their way. After a while all classes learned to find refuge in the mission hospitals in times of extremity. Royal princes, generals and officials of the highest rank sought the advice and help of the medical missionaries no less than the poor. Their renown spread to the remotest corner of the land, colporteurs and itinerating preachers finding that they could get an entrance and a willing hearing by letting it be known that they belonged to the medical mission. The medical missionary work became a letter of recommendation for the American Mission, well read and understood throughout the land. A remarkable illustration of the degree to which the old prejudices have been overcome cheered the hearts of the missionaries in Teheran in 1906. A Persian lady of highest rank, the wife of a major-general, a relative of the ruling Shah, was operated upon, with the Shah's consent. This proof of confidence on the part of the leading authorities made a deep impression on the population of the capital. From that day women thronged to the hospital as patients. In the same year a wealthy Persian woman gave the money for an addition to the men's hospital, for the special use of poor women. She paid the cost of furnishing the building also, and took a lively interest in the patients, particularly in the severe surgical cases, for which nothing could have been done without a hospital. It has become almost a rule in the Presbyterian Mission in Persia to fit out every new station with one or two physicians. So Hamadan also was supplied with two doctors, a man and a woman. After twenty years of quiet progress along established lines, a large extension of the work was planned, and two new stations were occupied in quick succession, Resht in 1904, and Kasvin in 1905, medical missionary work being the mainstay in both places.

A second branch of mission work came gradually into prominence, the work of education. Schools had, of course,

been a part of the general mission work from the beginning in Persia, as elsewhere. As time moved on and Persia came into closer connection with the outside world, particularly after the Shah Nasir-ed-Din had visited Europe in spite of the superstitious fears of the mollahs and mujtahids, the conviction dawned on the Persians that they must fall into line with the universal progress of civilization. The Armenians and Jews were more progressive at first than the bigoted Muhammadans; they eagerly sought the help of the mission in establishing primary schools for boys and girls, and they soon demanded the founding of more advanced schools. Gradually the Persians, too, began to see that mission schools were much better than their own, and that it was profitable for the future career of their sons to take the course of such an American school. So a few Muhammadan pupils quietly entered the mission schools. It is of interest to follow up the slow process of development in at least one school as an example of what happened in them all.

When, in 1887, the new boys' school was opened in Teheran, most of the pupils were taken in as boarders without charge, even the text-books being presented to them to secure regular attendance. Yet, in spite of these inducements, the school numbered only thirty pupils during the first year. After a time, such means of attraction were abandoned; in 1894 the boarding department was discontinued. Soon pupils were required to pay for their text-books. A few years later fees were required. Yet the school grew in numbers and popularity, and, although the mollahs strictly forbade Muhammadan pupils to attend, even this opposition was quietly overcome. At present 130 of the 236 pupils of the school are Muhammadans, and even princes of the royal family have been educated there. Recent years have witnessed a desperate battle as to who should have the paramount influence in the school. On the 18th of April, 1907, an attempt was made by means of a strike, or revolt, to force the mission to make certain concessions to Muhammadan prejudices. Sixty-two pupils and four teachers left the school. A rival school with the

pompous name, "The Eternal United School," was started under the auspices of the Persian minister of education. The outlook for the mission school seemed rather gloomy for some months. But the "Eternal United School" soon enough disintegrated from inward dissension, the rebellious pupils quietly returned with many apologies and promises, and the storm has left the school in an even stronger position than before in the popular esteem. It is encouraging to see how many Muhammadan pupils there are at present in the schools of the Presbyterian Mission. In the Teheran girls' school there are forty-nine, as compared with eighty-eight non-Muhammadans; in the Memorial Boys' School in Tabriz there are eighty Muhammadans and 135 Armenians. In Urumiah, where the American Mission is most deeply rooted and firmly established by its extensive work among the Nestorians, even separate schools for Muhammadan pupils have been started; the boys' school numbers sixty-three Muhammadans, as compared with thirteen Syrians and Jews; the girls' school has sixty-seven pupils, almost all of them Muhammadans. So, by enduring patience and American energy, a footing has been gained on very difficult ground, and there is a hopeful outlook for larger efforts. During these last few years a decided change has come over the Persians; they are beginning earnestly to seek a European education. Schools with Western ideals, and after a more or less European pattern, are springing up everywhere; the Persian government, foreign legations, municipalities and private citizens vie with one another in building up new schools. In some places, like the capital Teheran, and the commercial centre Tabriz, there is already a brisk competition, which sometimes draws pupils away from the mission schools. But, on the whole, this new current is a helpful one, and it is bringing crowds of hitherto uneducated youth of both sexes into school life, undermining the old-time rote schools, and creating a strong appetite for sound education. Up to the present time the Americans have been able to hold their place as the leading educational agency of the land.

If there was a tendency, by the establishment of hospitals

and schools, to confine the interests of the mission to the few large cities where these institutions are located, an extensive work of itinerating made a healthful counterbalance. The colporteurs of the American Bible Society wandered to and fro through the northern half of Persia, and at least a part of the American Mission force of every station spends some months, or at least weeks, of each year among the village people. Itinerating work is of special importance in the districts surrounding Tabriz and Hamadan. Around Tabriz, as far as the borders of Turkey and Russia, there stretches the thickly populated province of Azerbaijan, of which Tabriz is the capital, and in the fertile plains of which there are a good many Armenian villages, colonies of Jews, and numerous clans of nomadic Kurds. The station at the village of Haftdevan in the Salmas plains has been abandoned, but in many towns and villages there are Protestant congregations with native pastors and preachers, and almost everywhere the itinerant missionary finds a good hearing even among Muhammadans. The Armenians alone are at present not so open to missionary influences as they were in former decades. The intense political agitation, which sprang up among them at the time of the massacres in Turkish Armenia, has produced a very strong nationalist feeling, as a result of which every leaning towards Protestantism is eyed with suspicion; no part of the population is readier to open rival schools and to attempt in other ways to counteract missionary influences.

From time to time an opening presented itself among the unstable robber tribes of the Kurds. Gul Baba, an influential sheikh, head of a religious sect which claimed 40,000 adherents, showed a remarkable tolerance; he welcomed the missionaries and other Christians to his remote mountain retreat, was glad to engage in religious discussions, and read the Bible with interest. But as the Kurds are most dangerous robbers and thieves, no missionary could live safely in their mountain fastnesses, and at no time has regular mission work been undertaken among them. American and English missionaries have translated the New Testament into several of the widely

divergent Kurdish dialects, but these translations, in so far as they have been printed at all, have been printed for the most part in Armenian letters, unintelligible to the majority of the uncultured clans. Some years ago Rev. D. von Oertsen, a young missionary of the German "Orientmission" settled down in Souchbulak, south of Urumiah, learned the Kurdish language, and has begun a new translation of the Bible.

The other great centre for itinerant work is *Hamadan*. The large Jewish villages in this region presented an even greater opportunity than the Armenian colonies in Hamadan itself, in Sheverine and in other towns. We shall hear later, in an account of missions among the Jews in the Near East, of an interesting revival among the Jews of Hamadan, which, between the years 1875 and 1881, gladdened the hearts of the missionaries in Persia. Since that time an entrance has been gained to one of the strange Shiitic sects, the Ali Ilahi, the bulk of whose adherents, estimated at half a million, are living in the hilly tracts west of Hamadan and Kermanshah. Even with Sayid Rustam, the head of this sect, friendly relations are maintained. In no part of Persia do the itinerant missionaries find such an open door and such an interested audience as among this simple village folk, most of them Kurds, despised by the orthodox Shiites, regarded as hopelessly unclean by the mollahs, yet a hopeful field for the Christian preacher. Every year a few baptisms are reported in these villages; not seldom, whole families are converted. The Ali Ilahi villages seem to constitute the strategic point of the mission field in Persia.

A further important agency of the mission is the work among women. Ever since the mission was handed over to the Presbyterians, lady missionaries have been sent to Persia in increasing numbers. At present there are sixteen unmarried ladies, including four doctors, besides twenty married women, altogether thirty-six ladies in the western and eastern missions together, side by side with only twenty-three ordained and medical missionaries. They have a varied work in their hands. Their girls' boarding-schools are a bright spot of the missions. The Iran Bethel School in Teheran and the Faith Hubbard

School at Hamadan are among the best educational institutions for girls in Persia. Less pretentious girls' day-schools are to be found in all the stations. They open the door to the home, and often to the hearts, of the parents of the pupils. The work of the ladies in dispensary and hospital, their itinerations, the social gatherings in their homes and the visits they make, are all means to conquer the deep-rooted antipathy, and superstitious fear of the Persian women, thus helping the missionaries to come into close relation with them, and bringing into their dull and dark lives some rays of new hope and heavenly light.

What is the result of forty years of this larger mission work? Among the Jews and the Armenians the fond hopes of the early days have not been fulfilled. Active work among the Armenian colonies in the Karaghan Mountains and in the farming settlements on the slopes of the Elburz range, has been discontinued. The strong nationalist spirit of the Armenian community hardens the heart against Protestant influences. The close connection of the Jews with the Jewish world outside Persia, and the munificent donations of the French "Alliance Israélite" make the Jews less accessible to missionary influences. The hopeful revival of 1875–1881 is unhappily almost forgotten. Yet those early endeavours paved the way to the Muhammadan population, and the congregations built up by converts from the Armenian and Nestorian Churches, with a few Jews, are the backbone of the missions; they supply most of the native helpers.

And what of the Muhammadans? It is known that, according to the Koran, death is the lot of the convert to Christianity. Even if, in connection with the new order of things, this law of the Koran should be abrogated, it will continue to be a requirement of the sacred book, and as such will be binding on all orthodox Muhammadans. And even if conversion should not end with death, there are sure to follow painful persecutions, and the convert will be expelled from home and family. Against such fiery trials, almost inevitable in view of the fundamental hostility of Islam to Christianity, even a

strong European suzerainty would scarcely be able to protect converts. Yet this situation must not discourage the missionaries in their work, nor deter converts from the dangerous path of public confession. How much easier it would be could the converted be baptized secretly, could they maintain an outward show of orthodoxy like the Behais and other sects who openly confess Islam, while secretly adhering to their peculiar doctrines. Yet such a course is out of the question for Christians. And already the work among Muhammadans is not lacking in hopeful results. There are small communities of baptized Muhammadans in Teheran and Hamadan. In Urumiah the number of converts from Islam had increased in 1890 to twenty-seven. But then a storm of persecution broke out. The pious Mirza Ibrahim from Khoi was thrown into prison, and when all threats and briberies proved useless to silence his open confession, and to bring him back to Islam, he was brought to Tabriz to be sentenced there by the supreme court. There, in a filthy dungeon, surrounded by criminals of the worst type, he witnessed to the last for Christ and his new faith, until his barbarous fellow prisoners ruthlessly choked him to death (1892). His memory is precious in the annals of the Persian Mission.

Conditions are rapidly changing in Persia of late years. There is in the last decade no annual report of the Presbyterian missions that does not chronicle new conversions and baptisms, though of course such reports are careful not to give the names of converts and the dates when they were baptized, lest their lives be needlessly endangered. Yet, even in Teheran converts live safely, comparatively free from molestation by the Muhammadans.

In passing, we note another missionary undertaking of short duration. In 1895 the German pastor, William Faber, sent out to Persia two young missionaries, Közle and Zerweck. The Persian legation at Berlin became aware of what was going on, and made a report to the Shah. Immediately orders were issued to stop the mission. The young missionaries were commanded to leave the country. Közle was taken ill and

died. Zerweck returned to Germany. The mission has never been resumed.

5. The Work of the Church Missionary Society in Persia

The attention of evangelical circles in the Anglican Church was early directed towards Persia. Henry Martyn, the ardent army chaplain in India, had made a deep impression, and his death was of even wider influence than his life. Yet there was no thought in England of taking up his work in Persia. In 1869, however, Dr. Robert Bruce, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society in India, was granted permission to visit Persia on his way back to his work in the Panjab, with the purpose of revising on the ground Henry Martyn's Persian translation of the Bible, a translation not unimportant for the mission in India. He chose to reside in Julfa, an important suburb of the former capital Ispahan, where exiled Armenians had formed a large Christian community. Bruce's leave of absence from India lengthened into several years, till, finally, when a company of nine Persians asked for instruction in the Christian religion and for baptism, he determined to remain there permanently. The Mission Board gave a reluctant consent. In the terrible famine of 1871 and 1872, Bruce was able to give efficient help, a sum of £16,000, collected in England, Germany and India, being placed at his disposal for relief work. He thus won a foothold among the fanatical Muhammadan population, and was able to open an orphans' home for Armenian children. Bruce's activity was for a long time confined to modest bounds. His chief work for the Persians was a thorough revision of Martyn's translation of the Bible, and other literary labours, though he neglected no opportunity for conversation about religion. In that time of beginnings one could hardly speak of results. Bruce himself said, "I am not yet reaping, I am not yet sowing, I can scarcely be said to be plowing; but I am gathering the stones from the field." Easier to see was his activity among the Armenians in Julfa, particularly since he was not content that they should remain within the bounds of their own Church, but

gave himself steadily to the problem of transforming them into a Protestant congregation. When Bishop French passed through Julfa in 1883, he confirmed sixty-seven Armenians, and ordained one of them as a clergyman, thus laying the foundation of an Armenian-Anglican Church. This Church has to-day a membership of three hundred.

In spite of many a plea on the part of Bruce, and favourable reports from various missionaries who passed through Persia, the Church Missionary Society did not quickly decide to increase its mission in that country. Persia was, it is true, adopted by the Society on the 14th of June, 1875, as one of her mission fields, but not until 1879 was a second missionary appointed to work with Bruce, and in course of time to become his successor, since Bruce had already been a missionary in tropical lands for almost a quarter of a century. This new missionary to Persia was a medical missionary, Rev. E. F. Hörnle. Early in the eighties, however, a change of opinion in the circles of the Church Missionary Society brought missions among Muhammadan peoples into the focus of their interest. As a result, the solitary and neglected post in Persia increased in importance. Now everything began to be pushed forward. At Bruce's special request, Bagdad, on the Tigris, was occupied as the second station, in 1882. In Persia itself the Society was for ten years content to occupy the one station, Julfa, equipping it thoroughly for work among Muhammadans; thus they established there a medical mission, supplied with a hospital and dispensary, and a small printing establishment, sending out, also, lady missionaries. Not before 1897 were any more new stations opened. But then there followed in quick succession Kirman in 1897, Yezd in 1898 and Shiraz in 1900, all three to be similarly equipped with a medical mission, including hospitals and dispensaries, and to be supplied with lady missionaries. In Shiraz alone is the hospital not yet completed.

The centre of the mission's activity is the medical work, which, though it, too, had to combat the superstition and prejudices of the Persians, nevertheless won the hardest hearts

by its unselfish service. The Gospel was diligently preached in the wards of the hospitals, and was heard with gladness. Nor are conversions infrequent among the patients. It would seem from the very reticent reports, that half of the little company of converts who have been baptized had been first influenced by the medical work. The twofold message of health for body and soul was also carried far into the country by the medical missionaries.

How successful the medical work has been in winning the confidence of the people is well attested by circumstances which attended the building of the new hospital in Yezd. For the erection of this hospital (1907), Parsees in Yezd gave £200, and Muhammadans also made contributions.

A second branch of the work upon which special importance is placed is the distribution of Christian literature. Ever since the days of Martyn and Bruce great attention has been paid to this form of activity. When the talented Dr. Bruce retired from service in 1893, the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, D. D., was appointed his successor in the literary work. He has made a name for himself both in Persia and in England by his exceedingly well-informed books on Islam. Strange to say, it is the distribution of the Bible which meets with the most stubborn, and, at the same time, the most childish opposition from the Persian authorities. Boxes of Bibles are kept for years in the sheds of the excise officers, and missionaries even experience difficulty in getting their own Bibles into Persia. It is an advantage to the mission that the Persians are a people of ancient culture, having a national literature, so that they are fond of reading. The Christian literature distributed by the agents of the mission, and by the colporteurs of the British and Foreign Bible Society as well, is read with intelligence, and has awakened a desire for better religious knowledge. The Church Missionary Society has a small printing establishment in Julfa, which prints apologetic and polemic pamphlets. It is called the "Henry Martyn Memorial Press."

The mission has great difficulties with its schools. The Armenian school in Julfa was, indeed, not greatly hindered

in its growth for the first thirty years. It was attended chiefly by Armenian children, and the few Persians shared in the religious instruction without making any difficulty. But, since the year 1900, there has been considerable opposition on the part of the Armenians, who have established a school in opposition to the mission; two other rival schools have also been opened, a Roman Catholic school by nuns from Paris, and an Orthodox school for girls by certain Russian ladies. Thus there are four schools in a place that numbers but a few thousand inhabitants.

The Persians are not lacking in a desire to learn, nor do they fail to see that they can learn much in the schools of the mission. As soon as a school is opened, it is usually at once filled with pupils. But the religious leaders, the mollahs and mujtahids, constantly see to it that the influence of these schools shall not become too great. The Church Missionary Society has had a struggle in maintaining every one of their schools for Persians. And if the slightest opportunity presents itself, the mollah at once puts an end to the attendance, Persian parents who send their children to the mission schools being threatened with exclusion from the mosque, and the children themselves being treated with scorn, or even persecuted, in the bazars. Yet the missionaries always make a new beginning. In Yezd and Kirman the difficulties are less than elsewhere, since most of the 10,000 Parsees of Persia live there. Since these Parsees are more eager to learn than are the Persians, and since they are not so bigoted, the schools intended for them are fairly well attended. From this survey it is clear that the difficulties in the way of missionary educational work have not yet been so thoroughly overcome by the schools of the Church Missionary Society as by the schools of the American Presbyterians.

The fourth important branch of the activity of the Church Missionary Society is the work of the lady missionaries, who labour among women, visiting them and inviting them to their homes, and making tours through the villages. Every opportunity is seized to gain a hold upon the women. The

number of those who have joined the mission church is, according to the official reports, as large as that of the men.

On the whole, the results of the mission have been numerically small. Of the 392 Christians who are in connection with the Church Missionary Society, fully 300 are Armenians, while a few are Jews. On an average there are annually from twenty to thirty baptisms of adults. Bishop Stuart asserted in March, 1907, before the London Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that, since 1900, more than one hundred adult Muhammadans had been baptized. Many of these have a hard battle to fight, yet most of them are courageous and remain faithful. Repeated attempts have been made to come into closer touch with particular groups of the people; for instance, with the unsettled nomadic Baktiari, living in the steppes of Ispahan, whose sheikhs met the medical missionaries with great friendliness and accorded perfect religious liberty to the members of their tribe. Babists, also, approached the missionaries again and again, and their recognition of the Bible as a divine revelation seemed to be a point of contact. Their arbitrary allegorical interpretation of the Bible, however, by which they make any text mean what they want it to mean, dashed this hope to the ground. The friendly reception which the missionaries sometimes receive from all classes of the population on their preaching tours, is astonishing. On a tour which the Rev. H. Stileman made through the districts lying between Ispahan, Yezd and Kirman, in 1899, he everywhere found "open doors" as never before in Persia. There was hardly any of the usual Muhammadan bitterness in resisting Christian influences, but rather a marked receptivity for the preaching of the Gospel. Christian books were also eagerly received, even by mollahs.[1]

It was a valuable accession to the mission when, after forty-four years of missionary work in various fields, Bishop Stuart, who had done so much for the Maori Mission, resigned the bishopric of Waiapu (1894), and went to Julfa in his sixty-

[1] "Open Doors in Southern Persia," *Intelligencer*, 1899, pp. 498 ff.

seventh year as an ordinary missionary. In this he was following the example of his departed friend, Bishop French, who, as we have seen, gave up his work in India at an advanced age to go to Muscat. He is still labouring in this difficult Persian Mission, cheerfully bearing its hardships in his old age. Under his leadership, the work of the mission in Julfa has, in the last five years, been transferred from the quiet Armenian suburb to the busy city of Ispahan. Thus the hospitals and the schools of the mission were brought into the centre of public interest.

It is unfortunate that in late years there has been so much disturbance in connection with the political development. In the autumn of 1906 the Shah Muzaffar-ed-Din (1896–1907), under pressure from the people, granted a constitution. He died on the 8th of January, 1907. His son, Muhammad Ali Mirza, succeeded him. It was incumbent on the new Shah to fulfill the promises of his father, and to call a parliament. This was, to be sure, rendered difficult by the condition of Persia at that time; a revolt led by his brother in the western provinces of Luristan and Arabistan had to be forcibly suppressed; commerce was at a low ebb throughout the country; and, in 1904 and 1905, there had occurred a fearful epidemic of cholera in Persia, raging especially in the two chief towns of Teheran and Shiraz. Yet, apart from this, Muhammad Ali had no intention of letting himself be hampered by a parliamentary form of government. Persia had ever been the most autocratically governed country of the Near East. Suddenly to grant self-government seemed even to European statesmen a leap in the dark, if not an utter impossibility. The Shah, though he called a parliament according to the constitution, listened willingly to such advisers. He attempted a coup d'état, ordering the parliament to dissolve, and abrogating the constitution. But he had miscalculated. His rash step only strengthened the determination of the Persians to put an end to arbitrary government. In the conflict which arose between the Shah and the parliament, the latter cleverly made use of the excitement to extend its pow-

ers, and bent all its energies to the task of compelling the ruler to submit. Violent disturbances occurred even in remote provincial towns, sometimes assuming the character of rebellions. Everywhere anjumans were formed, constitutional corporations which assumed the management of provinces or towns, expelling or murdering recalcitrant governors and officials. Thus in the last two years a new era has begun for Persia, though the land still stands in the midst of the struggle. Political demonstrations and mass-meetings are the order of the day. Political agitators openly address gatherings of thousands in Teheran, Tabriz, and even in provincial towns like Urumiah. The demand for political freedom resounds throughout the country. Newspapers have sprung up like mushrooms; there are dozens of them in towns like Teheran and Tabriz, with such titles as *The Cry of the People*, *The Trumpet of Gabriel*, *Justice*, *Progress*, *Knowledge*, *The True Dawn*. In these newspapers radical demands are made without reserve. Stronger methods are also in vogue, like the refusal to pay taxes and rents. Bombs and dynamite are not unknown. Persia is determined, like her neighbour, Russia, to force a radical change in the government.

Another mark of the new era is an uncommon desire for education. Old and young alike are beginning to see that self-government is possible only for a people of some education. Hitherto more than ninety-five per cent. of the Persians have been unable to read. Now there is a loud demand for elementary and higher schools all over the country. Not schools like the old mosque schools, in which the pupils merely learned the Koran by heart, but schools that offer a European education. How such schools are quickly to be organized, and where the teachers are to come from, are still unsolved problems.

The change in Persia will be lasting and thorough. The old Persia with its oriental despotism is doomed; who can say what Persia will be like under the new régime? Yet already there is a marvellous transformation. Any one would have been laughed to scorn who, three years ago, had ven-

tured to prophesy that in so short a time Moslem Persia would shake off the dust of centuries, and fashion herself into a modern constitutional state. For Protestant missions in Persia it is likewise a time of large possibilities. The period of difficult beginnings and of bitter opposition is passing away. What shall the future bring?

VI

EGYPT AND ABYSSINIA

(*A*) *Egypt*[1]

EGYPT has, from the earliest times, been the most interesting, and, from the historical and social point of view, the most important country of Africa. It is of importance to note that the Egyptian people, the oldest of civilized nations, is a member of that Hamitic family, the habitat of which extends from the shores of the Mediterranean (Berbers and Kabyles) across Africa (Haussa, Galla, Somali, Wahuma, Watussi) as far as the Cape of Good Hope. According to Meinhof, Westermann, Reinisch and von Luschan, the Hottentots are also a Hamitic race. Now, if one representative of this family has, under favourable conditions, attained a high degree of civilization, who will question the ability of other branches of the same family to do the like? Further, it is a memorable and reassuring fact for the friends of missions, that this Hamitic race was one of the earliest leaders in the Christian Church, and that, with the possible exception of the Armenians, it formed the first national Church, a Church widely diffused, not only in the Hellenized cities of Egypt, but even more among the village population of the Kopts. Islam it was that reduced to political and social insignificance a people which had played a leading part in history thousands of years before the Muhammadan conquest. Under the ambitious and brilliant Circassian dynasty of Muhammad Ali in the nineteenth century, Egypt enjoyed conditions comparatively favourable to civilization. Yet hardly anything more plainly demonstrates Islam's incapacity

[1] M. Lüttke, "Aegyptens neue Zeit," 2 vols., 1873. J. M. Neale, "History of the Holy Eastern Church; Patriarchate of Alexandria," (not very reliable). Lord Cromer, "Modern Egypt," 2 vols., 1908.

for civilization than the contrast between the disturbed state of the country when England assumed the government in 1882, and its present orderly condition. The changeful and romantic story of the dynasty of Muhammad Ali forms the political background of the history of missions in Egypt. Muhammad Ali fought his way through bloody civil wars to the government of Egypt in 1804, and was acknowledged by the Porte. His ambitious mind then led him to throw off the supremacy of the Porte and to establish Egypt as an independent African state. In accordance with this scheme he conquered immense territories in Nubia, Darfur, Kordofan and the countries adjacent to the Upper Nile. He even ventured to snatch Palestine from the Porte. In order to give his country the appearance of a civilized European state, he founded grand schools, providing them with European masters, and imitated the fine manners of the French. He also sent many Egyptians to study in France. To meet the expense of such extravagant enterprises he imposed crushing taxes and forced labour on his unhappy subjects. His two successors, Abbas and Said (1849–1863), were weaker men, and did not adhere to any consistent foreign policy. Yet they endeavoured to make the lives of the fellaheen more bearable, and reduced the taxation. But Ismail Pasha (1863–1879) went even further than Muhammad Ali. His policy was directed towards the aggrandizement of his dynasty. He acquired the title of Khedive, and, as such, was only nominally dependent on the Sultan, the title being also made hereditary. He tried to assume the rôle of an up-to-date civilized ruler by undertaking magnificent schemes of improvement, such as the construction of the Suez Canal, which was completed in 1869, and the building of railways. At the opening of the canal he arranged a pompous ceremony at immense cost. All the time the country was groaning under extortionate taxation, and Egypt's debt grew to enormous proportions. The end of it was that his senseless extravagance and dilatory payment of interest on loans caused the European Powers to depose him. His well-meaning but weak

son, Tewfik Pasha, was not able to manage the government of the country. On the one hand the powers insisted on having a guarantee for the payment of interest in the shape of thorough control of the income of Egypt, while, on the other, the Egyptian nationalists protested, under Arabi Pasha, against European interference. In this protest they were supported by the powerful mosque party, which wished to put an end to the influence of Christians. The conflict was rendered the more bitter by the differences existing between the Circassians, who held the highest positions in the state and army, and the ambitious Egyptian military party, egged on by former holders of sinecure offices, who had been dismissed for the sake of economy. What finally sealed the fate of Egypt was the fact that the Suez Canal had grown to be of supreme importance to England as the gateway to her colonial empire in India and the Far East. England was, therefore, only waiting for a favourable opportunity in the midst of the general confusion to step in authoritatively. This opportunity presented itself in 1882, when Arabi Pasha rose in rebellion. It was, properly speaking, a dispute between the Khedive and his ministers. Yet England was able to make use of it for her own purposes, since the fanatical mob in Alexandria had savagely attacked foreign and Egyptian Christians.

The English occupation of Egypt has been of immense benefit to the country, threatened with ruin under Moslem mismanagement. It is also an object-lesson for Turkey, showing what might be accomplished within her borders, under proper government. During the twenty-five years since the occupation, Egypt has made astonishing progress, industrially, socially and intellectually. Taxation has been regulated, forced labour abolished, and the Nile made to distribute its waters impartially by means of canals and dams, the productivity of the land being thus vastly increased. Education has been made compulsory, provision having been made for it by the opening of about 1,000 elementary schools, which are attended by upwards of 200,000 pupils, seven per cent. of whom are girls, and by the opening of ten colleges

of high grade. England has introduced the system of grants in aid, which had been found to work so well in India, the greater number of elementary and intermediate schools being managed by the various religious bodies, under state supervision and with state support. Since 1890 there has been a yearly expenditure of between £100,000 and £230,000 for education. Freedom of the press has been granted, and the press has gained an astonishing influence. The value of land has risen in proportion to the increasing security of life, property and trade. Immigrants come from all the neighbouring Turkish countries to enjoy the benefits of religious and social liberty. Egypt has thus become the intellectual light of the Near East.

Of the total population of Egypt in 1897 (9,734,405) 8,978,775 were Muhammadans, an evidence that Islam has prevailed here more than in most of the countries of Western Asia. Only 755,630 were non-Muhammadans. Of these 112,526 were foreigners, chiefly belonging to the Roman Church, among them 24,467 Italians, 14,155 Frenchmen, 7,117 Austrians and Hungarians, and 765 Spaniards, making a total of 46,504 Roman Catholics. Of Greek Catholics there were 38,175 Greeks and 3,198 Russians, in all 41,385. Of Protestants there were 19,557 British and 1,247 Germans, in all 20,804. Of Jews there were 25,200. Of native Christians the number was 637,357, of whom 27,846 belonged to the Greek Orthodox, the Armenian, the Jacobite and the Nestorian Churches, the first of which has a patriarchate in this country, and the second an archbishopric. Of these 27,846, a considerable portion belong to the "Uniate" Oriental Churches ("united" with Rome), and have a Melchite-Greek patriarchate, a Syrian bishopric and an Armenian archbishopric, which are, however, not always occupied. If we deduct these members of foreign Churches, we have left 609,511 Christian Kopts, of whom, in 1897, 592,374 were orthodox, 4,630 "united" with Rome, and 12,507 Protestant.[1]

[1] These figures are taken from the census of 1897. On the 1st of January, 1897, the American Mission, in connection with which are most of the Protestant Kopts, reckoned only 5,355 communicants; 12,507 Kopts, however, declared

In spite of long continued government by foreigners, and in spite of an extensive immigration which has taken place from the earliest times, the Egyptian Koptic type has maintained its purity and virility in an astonishing manner, especially in Middle and Upper Egypt. The Kopts, who have been preserved from race mixture by their religious antagonism to the immigrants, have retained the Hamitic type to such a degree that the children of the present day are replicas of the former kings and princes as they are represented on the ancient stone monuments. They have the same broad, low forehead and thick, black, somewhat curly hair, the same straight, sharply-chiselled nose, and, above all, the same narrow eye, large and always of a deep gleaming black. Yet traces are not wanting of the effects of Muhammadan oppression, which lasted twelve centuries, and was especially

themselves in the census as Protestants. There is some doubt about the number of Kopts "united" with Rome, and the Roman Catholics in general, in Egypt. The census gave a total of 56,343 Roman Catholics, inclusive of European and Oriental immigrants. Werner, in his "Catholic Church Atlas," reckons 80,000 Catholics, inclusive of Europeans, there being 12,000 to 13,000 Uniate Kopts. His figures, however, are not reliable. Streit, in the supplement of his "Katholischer Missionsatlas" of 1906 (p. 15), reckons 64,180 Roman Catholics, inclusive of Europeans, there being 17,500 Uniate Kopts (p. 3). The *Missiones Catholicæ* (1907), in which very detailed statistics are given for Egypt, reckons, in one table, 63,173 Roman Catholic immigrants from Europe, 24,000 from Asia, and only 120 of the Koptic rite; in another table, 61,120 from Europe, 23,924 from Asia, and none of the Koptic rite. In the statistical survey, however, the numbers are, 100,184 Roman Catholics, 2,000 Uniate Armenians and 20,250 Uniate Kopts. We cannot pretend to account for such discrepancies. The Roman Church makes a great display in Egypt; in addition to the bishoprics for the Uniate Oriental Churches, mentioned above, there is a Latin patriarchate of Alexandria, whose occupant resides in Rome, and to which belong a Latin bishopric, a prefecture of the Franciscans in Upper Egypt, a prefecture for the Nile Delta, and a mission of the Franciscans in Lower Egypt; and there is also a patriarchate for the Uniate Kopts, under which there are three bishoprics, for the Delta, Middle, and Upper Egypt respectively. The numerous high dignitaries of the Church control ninety-one priests of various orders, fifty monasteries, belonging to seven different orders and occupied by 383 monks, and forty-two convents, belonging to twelve orders, with 578 nuns,—a large army in comparison with which the small troop of Protestant missionaries seems insignificant.

severe under the Fatimides and Mamelukes. Travellers, however, differ strikingly as to the nature of the consequent deterioration. Some describe the Koptic fellaheen as being melancholy, silent and unsociable, while others say that they are a merry race, harmlessly joyous under their sunny sky. In either case their mental activity has not been paralyzed. Under Moslem rule they occupied most of the inferior official posts, especially as clerks in the courts of justice and government offices. And they have made such astonishing use of the educational facilities introduced by England, that there are to-day more Kopts than Muhammadans in the elementary and intermediate schools, while in the higher schools and colleges one-third of the students are Kopts, although only one-fifteenth of the entire population is Koptic (*Intelligencer*, 1906, pp. 651 ff.).

The stay and backbone of Koptic nationality is the Church, the authorities of which are viewed with uncommon respect. At the head of these church authorities is the Patriarch, who now resides in Cairo, having twelve bishops under him. The rest of the clergy are divided into two strong bodies. One of these, the monks, live in monasteries, some of which are of hoary age and much venerated. That of Maharag (St. Mark) near Manfalut in Upper Egypt, is said to contain 500 monks. There are also convents. Egypt is the original home of Christian monkhood, the country of Antonius the Hermit, of Paul of Thebes and of Pachomius. To the other class of the clergy belong the no less numerous priests, some of whom are attached to the many churches, while the majority are ordained without receiving benefices, many of them becoming mendicants. Unfortunately the education of both the celibate monks and the married priests is on a low level. Neither of them know more of the ancient sacred language of their Church than is necessary to enable them to repeat the liturgies, and in some cases they do not even understand these. More than half of them can neither read nor write. In 1895 the first "theological college" was opened in Cairo for the purpose of imparting some elementary instruction to the clergy.

But little benefit has accrued from it, owing to quarrels concerning it between the Patriarch and certain progressive Koptic members of the Church. Unhappily very few of the churches, and not many of the celebrated ancient monasteries, are sufficiently endowed. By far the greater number of the monks, and almost all the priests, have to rely on their own exertions to earn a livelihood. The more self-respecting work at some trade, others carry on a brisk business in amulets, while the remainder beg.

Under such conditions it is impossible for the clergy to exercise any strong, elevating influence. Their religion consists chiefly of the painfully conscientious observance of innumerable fasts, which occur every other day, some of them being very stringent, and of the observance of the many saints' days. Worship of the Virgin is very prevalent. To this is added gross superstition of a varied character, which is evidenced partly by the use of amulets for many purposes, and partly by the reliance they place on the magical effects of ecclesiastical ceremonies.

Of late years there has been growing, side by side with the increasing influence exercised by the missions of the American Presbyterians and of the Anglican Church, a strong party of reformers within the Koptic Church itself, the "Young Kopts." Their most important representative has been the Patriarch Cyril X (1854–1861), who was, however, deposed by the Viceroy, Said, on account of his ambitious projects of reform. Since that time the Young Kopts have succeeded in securing an elected synod (1875), and a clerical council, which is intended to act with the Patriarch, for the express purpose of checking him in the administration of church finance. They have also, contrary to the wish of the Patriarch, founded a Koptic college in Cairo, called the Tewfik College, which has proved to be a great success. And, in order to avoid the necessity of sending their children to the Anglo-Egyptian schools, in which they could scarcely escape instruction in the Koran and the influence of the Muhammadan sheikhs from the El Azhar University, they have latterly ventured to establish

independent schools, in which Christian religious instruction and attendance at Sunday services are obligatory. They have a sufficient number of intermediate schools of a high grade, and are even maturing plans for the founding of a Christian university after the pattern of the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut. With a view to checking this tendency, the government has recently issued an order that Biblical instruction is to be given in all schools having at least fifteen Christian pupils in attendance, and the Koptic Patriarch is requested to supply the necessary teachers.

1. The American Mission[1]

While various American and English missionary societies were pushing their work among other Oriental Churches about the middle of the nineteenth century, the Anglican Mission to the Kopts had nearly come to a standstill. There was but one missionary left, Rev. Mr. Lieder, a man past his prime and in delicate health. He conducted services for English residents and tourists in Egypt. Lieder died of cholera in 1865, and his place was not filled. In the meantime, however, new workers had come. The Associate Reformed Church of America, now called the United Presbyterian Church, had, in conjunction with the Irish Presbyterians, begun work in Damascus in 1845. Concluding, however, after ten years of work there, that the field they had occupied was too circumscribed, the Americans resolved to extend their work to Egypt, and in 1854 they established a station in Cairo. At first it was not their intention to confine their labours to the Koptic Church; on the contrary, they desired to preach the pure Gospel to Muhammadans, Jews and Christians, wherever opportunity should offer itself. But the position of things in Egypt, the religious fanaticism of the Muhammadans and the comparative accessibility of the Kopts, caused them to turn to the latter exclusively.

[1] Dr. A. Watson, "The American Mission in Egypt," 2d edition, 1904; C. R. Watson, "In the Valley of the Nile," New York and London, 1908; Mrs. Butcher, "The Story of the Church in Egypt," 2 vols., London, 1897.

The method which they adopted differed from that followed by the Church Missionary Society. The latter had expressly abstained from the formation of congregations, confining itself to the spreading of evangelical knowledge and to the winning of individuals. Yet, by this method, in spite of their good fortune in being able to carry on their work under the lengthy rule of Butros (1809–1854), a patriarch who was well disposed towards them, they had not accomplished much. The Americans, profiting by this disappointing experience, began at once to come into direct touch with the mass of the Koptic agricultural class, without attempting to make any terms with the Koptic hierarchy. From the very beginning they were convinced that they must aim at the formation of Protestant congregations, though they did not lose sight of their main object, the revivifying of the moribund Koptic Church.

The Americans found it hard to make a beginning. Only with difficulty did they succeed in gaining a footing in Cairo, and, later, in 1857, in Alexandria, where they took over the boys' and girls' schools which had been established a short time previously by a Scotch Mission to the Jews. The young headmaster of the boys' school, Dr. Hogg, entered their service, becoming one of their most able missionaries. They purchased a fairly large house-boat, the *Ibis*, in which they went up the river as far as Assuan, selling Bibles and Protestant literature on the way, thus coming into touch with the Kopts. Fortunately for them, the two most influential men in Egypt at that time were favourably inclined towards them. Cyril X, the progressive Koptic Patriarch, was zealously intent on reforming his Church from top to bottom, and therefore hailed the American missionaries as allies. The Viceroy, Said Pasha (1854–1863), the most sympathetic of the rulers of Egypt in the nineteenth century, took care that they should be protected against the intrigues of the Koptic clergy and the Moslem officials, and, in 1862, gave them, as he had previously done for the Roman Mission, a very valuable site in Cairo.

The political and commercial crisis during the Civil War in America, in the years 1860–1865, threatened the work with

extinction from want of funds. But just at that time a new friend of the mission stepped in, Dulip Singh, a son of the famous Ranjit Singh of the Panjab. He had been educated in England, where he had been deeply impressed with the truth of Christianity. In 1864 he came to Egypt for the express purpose of seeking a Christian wife. He married a girl of mixed descent, Bamba Mueller, a teacher in the Koptic mission school in Cairo, to whom he had been introduced by the American missionaries. She was a humble-minded, pious wife to this unstable but kind-hearted prince, until she died in 1887. It was thus that this Indian prince came into close connection with the American Mission, so close, in fact, that he sometimes took a personal part in the work. He was a princely benefactor. For thirteen years he made an annual present of £1,000 on his wedding-day; he gave large sums, £17,000 in all, for special purposes, and he presented the mission with a printing-press. (Before his death in 1893, he fell back into heathenism.) By this timely help in its hour of need, the mission was enabled to extend its work. In 1865 they occupied Assiut, the most important town of Upper Egypt, lying in the province most thickly inhabited by Kopts; further stations were established in Medinet-el-Fayum, the most important town in the Fayum, in 1866, and in Mansura on the Damietta branch of the Nile, in 1869. In this way the work of the mission was extended over the whole of Egypt, although there was still a lack of workers. To their great joy they had a considerable accession of Kopts in Kus, in the province of Kenneh, below Luxor, their leader being Fam Stephanos, a tax-collector, who was highly esteemed for his honesty and piety. The village of Kus was occupied for five years by an American missionary.

Under the friendly rule of Said Pasha, the mission made good progress; but the situation changed completely upon the accession of the ostentatious and despotic Ismail Pasha (1863–1879). He would have liked to put an end to European influence in Egypt, and found it inconvenient to have the missionaries everywhere as critics and reporters of his tyranny,

especially in the matter of enforced labour. Further, the new Koptic Patriarch, Demetrius II (1861–1873), used all his influence to stamp out the Protestant heresy. In 1867 he undertook a long journey far into Upper Egypt, in order to intimidate any Kopts who were suspected of having Protestant leanings, and to punish those who had already left the Church, with the full force of ecclesiastical excommunication and government disfavour. Protestant schools were closed, and prominent Protestants either imprisoned or banished. Happily, in this crisis the American and English consulates gave their powerful support to the missionaries, and enforced the authorities to observe the hatti humayoun, the magna charta of religious liberty in the Ottoman Empire. Such effectual help put a speedy end to the Patriarch's crusade. In the twenty-five years following the year 1869, during which even the violent political upheavals of the years 1879 to 1885 did not materially affect the mission, the work of the Americans quietly expanded in many ways. Three main methods were adopted of reaching the Koptic population in town and country, namely, itineration, colportage and educational work. Every year extensive journeys were undertaken, able native assistants accompanying the missionaries, and an attempt being everywhere made to establish personal relations, and to incite the ignorant Kopts to enquiry on religious subjects. At the same time Bibles and other Christian literature were offered for sale. The missionaries introduced also an independent system of colportage. At first they employed a former member of the Chrischona Mission, Mr. Schlotthauer, a Hollander. Him they provided with a small but commodious Nile-boat, the *Morning Star*, in which to journey from village to village along the Nile. Subsequently they divided the country into colportage districts, having a main depot in Cairo, with branches in Alexandria [1] and in seven other places. Con-

[1] In Alexandria is the printing establishment of the American Mission, which publishes a number of books every year. But the mission relies chiefly on the Beirut Mission Press for most of its literature, and is the best customer of that establishment.

nected with these depots, they had book-shops in charge of Egyptian managers. From these centres twenty-six colporteurs constantly travelled, through the whole of Egypt. Primary schools, also, for boys and girls were everywhere instituted. It is true that in all the towns there were already Koptic schools for boys, but the teaching in them at that time consisted for the most part of mechanical reading and writing lessons, so that it was not difficult to enter into competition with them. The only obstacle was the absence of a desire to learn. There was, however, at that time a regulation exonerating from enforced labour those who could prove that they attended a school. Concerning this beneficent rule, which redounds to the credit of the Egyptian government, there sprang up a lively conflict between the Koptic hierarchy and the American Mission. The Koptic priests tried to exclude the children of the American schools from the benefits of the regulation. Had the priests succeeded, the schools would have collapsed. But, however willing the local Moslem authorities may have been to do the Koptic bishops this favour, their intrigues were against the law, and the Americans were of all men the least likely to permit themselves to be imposed upon. An unpleasant incident occurred in 1869, when certain Koptic Protestants in Assiut broke into the Koptic church, tore down the sacred pictures from the altars, and destroyed them. This foolish attempt at iconoclasm cost those who took part in it dear, and the mission could not and would not protect them against the consequences of their act.

The number of adherents of the American Mission increased rapidly. While at the beginning of 1870 there were but 180 communicants, there were 4,554 at the beginning of 1895. In the same period the number of organized congregations increased from two to thirty-three. The organization of these congregations was after the American Presbyterian pattern. This vigorous growth taxed the organizing powers of the missionaries. A Protestant ecclesiastical community had to be formed. This body found official expres-

sion in the election and recognition of a Kopt, Gergis Barsum, as agent of the Protestants, and as their representative at the Khedivial Court. The mission was put to much trouble and expense before the small congregations could be provided with modest meeting-houses. Special permission from the central government had to be obtained before a church might be built, and, since each such building was a visible sign of the progress of Christianity and particularly of Protestantism, so hateful to the ruling Muhammadans, a hundred obstacles were put in the way so as to delay, if not actually to prevent, the church's being built. School problems were equally great. The Egyptian schools were miserable at the beginning of this period, and, such as they were, Christian children were excluded from them. Though under the English protectorate public instruction was immensely improved, it was undesirable to send the children of Protestant families to the government schools, since instruction in the Koran was compulsory there. The old practice had been that every denomination provided its own schools, and the missionaries, with American energy, undertook to do this for the children of their congregations. Accordingly many of the primary schools, which had been founded as a mission agency among non-Protestants, were turned into church schools, every congregation, in so far as it was possible, being provided with one. By the year 1896 there were 216 of these Protestant schools, 133 of them for boys, with 7,976 pupils, and eighty-three for girls, with 3,038 pupils. At the mission stations there were, in addition, higher boarding-schools, the missionaries themselves giving part of the instruction. On this foundation a higher educational system was built, to which belong a training college in Assiut (1870), which expanded into a general college in 1875; two boarding-schools for girls in Assiut and Cairo respectively, in which teachers and Bible-women could also be trained; and a large girls' boarding-school in Luxor, attended by 250 girls. There was also a theological seminary, unhappily of a rather interrupted existence, first in Cairo, then for twenty years in Assiut,

after which it was again moved to Cairo. It was intended for the training of a native ministry. Since in Presbyterian churches the members choose their own ministers, the position of theological seminaries is at times difficult. The missionaries cannot guarantee pastorates to the students, and only a limited number can be employed by the mission. All that the missionaries can do is to use their influence with the congregations in favour of their choosing their ministers from the candidates trained in the seminary. The natural result of this uncertainty is, however, that many, who might otherwise do so, hesitate to take the course.

During the last thirty years interest in women's work has grown immensely in the United States. Accordingly, in Egypt a good many lady missionaries are at work. In 1895 there were nine of them. As they were seldom permitted to enter a Moslem house, their work lay chiefly among the Kopts, where they were sorely needed. Family life among the Kopts was hardly better than among the Muhammadans. The women were despised and ill-treated. It is to be regretted that the Koptic women, stolid, superstitious, fanatical, as a rule held themselves aloof from the ladies, so that work among them required much patience.

A disturbing element in the otherwise steady and peaceful development of the mission were the troubles caused by the Rev. Mr. Pinkerton, who, in 1869, left the mission and began to spread the views of the Plymouth Brethren, hostile as they are to church organization. After a temporary sojourn in America, he returned to Egypt, and, to the time of his death, pushed his peculiar views, causing at times such confusion among the Protestants that the missionaries were obliged to oppose their former colleague very sharply. After his death the majority of those who had come under his influence returned to the congregations in connection with the mission. It is only in Assiut and Nakheileh that there are separatistic congregations, ministered to by a Canadian missionary. They have assumed the name of "The Holiness Mission." The earnestness and sincerity of these simple

Christians are acknowledged, but witness is also borne to the extravagances indulged in at their services.

The Muhammadans, who form the greater part of the population of Egypt, have hardly been touched, nor have the Americans at any time devoted much attention to them in a systematic way. Dr. Andrew Watson, the historian of the American Mission, calculates that in the period from 1854 to 1894 the total number of Muhammadans who were baptized was about seventy-five; and during the last twelve years about the same figure has been reached, the annual number varying between six and twelve. Most of these come from the lower classes, though a few educated and influential men have been baptized. The great obstacle has been that the principle of religious liberty, established by the hatti humayoun, has been acted upon by the Egyptian government only when pressed by the Christian Powers. Then there is the very strong Muhammadan esprit de corps; a man would rather kill his brother, or a father his son, than see him turn Christian. One might have supposed that the English occupation in 1882 would have altered this, and, indeed, for some time numerous applications for baptism were made by Muhammadans who had stood in friendly relations towards the mission, and who now expected that the new Christian government would favour Christianity, even as the former government had favoured Islam. But this movement was soon arrested by the rather weak consideration of the English authorities for the feelings of the Muhammadans, who were much excited by such conversions as that of the stationer, Muhammad Habib. In their work among Muhammadans the Americans confined themselves to distributing Bibles and other religious literature, especially good apologetic books like Pfander's "Misan ul Haqq" and El Kindi's "Apology," and to receiving as many Muhammadan children as possible into their schools. During the last twenty years they have had never less than 2,000 Muhammadan pupils, and in 1907 this number was increased to 3,067, of whom 2,446 were boys and 621 girls, in spite of the fact that the Muhammadans did

all in their power to draw away the children of their faith from the Protestant schools into new rival schools of their own.

The number of ordained American missionaries rose in 1895 to fifteen. Two of those who have served in the mission deserve special mention. The Scotsman, Dr. John Hogg, was one of the pillars of the mission. After his death, Dr. J. G. Bliss, who was well acquainted with the state of things in Egypt, wrote in an American paper, "It is not too much to say that the whole land is in mourning for this eminent servant of God. He was the prince of Bible-workers in this land of darkness. Few are the places on the Nile valley from Assuan to Cairo, where his voice has not been lifted up for God and Bible truth. For more than twenty years he was identified, more than any other one, with the work of evangelism in Upper Egypt." His great achievement was the establishment of the large educational centre at Assiut, where he founded the college. He died very suddenly in 1886. Side by side with him stood his faithful friend and fellow worker, Dr G. Lansing (1856–1892), one of the most energetic missionaries in Egypt, a learned man, deeply interested in the archæology of Egypt in its relation to Bible history.

Since the year 1890 there has been great progress in the American Mission. No new station had been established in the preceding twenty years, in fact the stations in Kus and in Medinet-el-Fayum had been abandoned. But now a forward movement set in again. In 1893 Tanta was occupied, in 1894 Zagazig and Benha, all three being in the Delta. Since then stations have been established in Beni-Suef and Luxor, and Medinet-el-Fayum has again been occupied. The staff of the mission has been increased to 108, of whom fifty-three are lady missionaries, which proves how the work among women has grown. Nineteen of these lady missionaries are engaged in the trying work in the harems of Koptic and Muhammadan families, nineteen are engaged in school work, and fifteen act as medical missionaries and nurses.

The medical mission has been greatly extended within the

last ten years. Up to 1891 there had been medical men among the missionaries only occasionally. In that year a doctor was permanently posted in Assiut, where, in the centre of Upper Egypt, the work has progressed very satisfactorily, especially since a new roomy hospital with eighty beds was placed at the disposal of the doctor in 1901. In 1902 two lady medical missionaries were stationed in Tanta, in the Delta. Here, too, the success of the work justified the building of a comfortable hospital for women and children, which is nearly always full. The success of these two ventures led to the calling of doctors of both sexes to Luxor, Benha and the Fayum, so that at the present time there are six doctors, three lady doctors and twelve nurses engaged there. In the course of a year 2,631 in-patients are treated in these hospitals, and 33,167 patients in six dispensaries, in addition to 5,000 patients visited at their homes. Thus 40,000 people each year share in the service rendered by these Good Samaritans.

An equal degree of strong and sustained advance is being made in the formation of congregations. At present there are fifty-seven fully organized congregations, with a communicant roll of 9,349. In 1906 alone 951 new Koptic members were added to the Church, and twelve Muhammadans. According to Presbyterian usage the congregations form four presbyteries, under the Nile synod. The mission reports, while recognizing that there are many obvious defects in the work, nevertheless maintain that the Protestant Church acts as a light, especially in the midst of the Koptic Church, and that the work of evangelization is being carried on outside of that Church in an ever-increasing measure, proof of which is the fact that two ordained missionaries have been sent to the Sudan. Educational work is also in a flourishing condition. In the 179 elementary schools (147 for boys and thirty-two for girls) there are 15,871 pupils, taught by 431 teachers. The three girls' boarding-schools in Assiut, Cairo and Luxor have, in addition, 919 pupils, and in the twenty other more advanced schools there are 3,703 boys and girls. The apex of this educational pyramid is formed by the magnificent college at Assiut, with its

729 students, and by the seminary in Cairo, with, alas, only thirteen students.

2. *Spittler's "Apostelstrasse" (Apostles' Road) and Other Smaller Missions*

Father Spittler's "Apostelstrasse" is but an episode in Egyptian mission work. In 1855 Father Spittler and the Chrischona Brotherhood, which he had founded near Basle, made an attempt to begin a mission in Abyssinia, in conjunction with Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem and that indefatigable pioneer in East Africa, Dr. Krapf (cf. Chap. VI, B, 2). Abyssinia was remote from the trade routes, was difficult of access, and had irregular and infrequent communication with the outside world. Gobat, Isenberg and Krapf had already felt these drawbacks in their first attempt to work in that country. However, now that the Chrischona Brotherhood, together with various other societies, had entered upon this field in considerable numbers, the hope was entertained that these difficulties might, in some measure, be overcome. The plan was conceived of effecting an organized connection with missionaries working in these far-away posts in Abyssinia, by establishing intermediate stations along the way. There were two routes to Abyssinia. Hitherto the missionaries had all gone through the Red Sea by way of Massowa. But the alternative overland route through Egypt by way of Assuan and Khartum was worth trying. This plan took on an astonishing form in the busy brain of Father Spittler, under the influence of the visionary Dr. Krapf. A grand series of twelve stations was to be established from Alexandria to the boundary of Abyssinia, each of which was to bear the name of one of the apostles, and to be manned by laymen known as "pilgrims," who should maintain themselves by the work of their hands, at the same time doing mission work in the neighbourhood, as opportunity offered, and acting as a link between the stations on either side. Thus a route would be opened for missionaries and traders between Alexandria and Abyssinia. The choice of the name "apostles' road" was a happy

thought, and had a mysterious attraction for Christians in Germany. The project grew apace in the minds of Spittler and Krapf; it might be possible to reach darkest Africa by the "apostles' road" up the Nile, for a branch route of twelve stations, to be called the "prophets' road," might start from Khartum and lead into the heart of Africa, perhaps to the great lakes, which were then just rising on the geographical horizon. While at home the friends of missions were following these far-reaching projects with intense interest, Father Spittler undertook to carry them out. Several of the stations were established, St. Mark in Cairo in 1861, St. Paul in Metamah, on the boundary of Abyssinia, in 1862, St. Thomas in Khartum, St. Matthew in Alexandria, and St. Peter in Assuan in 1865. Then came the fall of King Theodore of Abyssinia, which put an end to the Abyssinian Mission. This rendered the connecting stations purposeless, and the whole plan fell to the ground. Father Spittler was too wise a man to pursue a phantom, were it never so beautiful, when hard facts bade a retreat. One after another the apostle stations were abandoned. The station at Cairo, which was given up in 1872, deserves particular mention, because from its ruins there arose a Protestant German congregation in that city. Mr. Schlotthauer, one of the Chrischona brethren, entered the service of the American Mission as a colporteur.

Another transient attempt was made by Witteween, a Dutch clergyman in Ermelo. In 1846 he sent two young men, who were unfortunately lacking in training and experience, to penetrate through Egypt into the heathen lands on the Upper Nile, there to commence mission work. Of course nothing could come of such an enterprise. One of the men became insane in consequence of the tropical heat, and the other lost courage and returned home. But Witteween would not abandon his enterprise. In 1870 one of his evangelists, a young man named Nylandt, offered himself for the service. After he had arrived in Egypt, however, he made strict enquiries as to the country, the people, and the prospects of mission work, with the result that he modestly

settled down in Kalyub, which lies to the north of Cairo at the fork of the Nile delta, and there began to work among Kopts and Muhammadans. Confined to this solitary station, the small Dutch mission has carried on its work since then in a quiet and humble way. It maintains several village schools and a small orphanage, and has several colporteurs to distribute literature among Kopts and Muhammadans. In addition to Nylandt, a man named Spillenaar particularly has done much faithful work. The funds for this work are supplied by a Dutch society called the "Vereeniging tot Uitbreiding van het Evangelie in Egypte," which was founded in 1886.

The North African Mission, which had begun work in Algiers and Morocco, gradually extended its labours along the north coast, and, in 1892, gained a footing in Egypt also. Here it has two stations, one in Alexandria, the other in Shebin-el-Kom, both being in the Delta. In the latter place there were violent disturbances, the Kopts uniting with the Muhammadans in an attempt to oust these unwelcome neighbours. The missionaries received notice to quit the premises which they had rented. In the spring of 1907, however, they succeeded in buying a site from the government, on which mission buildings are now being erected. The chief aim of the mission is to work among Muhammadans. This it does by establishing book-depots and reading-rooms, in which Muhammadans can assemble to gain information concerning Christianity. Boys' and girls' schools, Bible-women and itinerant preachers also find a place in the work of the mission. Yet the mission has not been able to develop any great activity, owing to the fact that there are only two missionaries with their wives, and one or two lady missionaries. The work has also been much hampered by illness.

The Egyptian General Mission, sometimes called the Egyptian Mission Band, was formed in Ireland in 1898. Its object, also, was to convert Muhammadans, and it does work in the Delta in Alexandria, Bilbeis and Shibin-el-Kanatr, as also in Suez. Here, too, are book-depots, reading-rooms

and boys' and girls' schools. In connection with this mission a monthly magazine is published, which has a considerable circulation in Egypt. But no great number of Muhammadans have been converted. The most interesting of their converts is a Moroccan sheikh (cf. "Story of a Moslem Sheikh").

In 1906 there came to Germany Dr. K. W. Kumm, a German who had left the service of the North African Mission, a son-in-law of the well-known, eloquent advocate of missions, Dr. Grattan Guinness. Dr. Kumm awakened in religious circles enthusiasm for the rather adventurous project of a Sudan Pioneer Mission in Nubia among the Bisharin Beduins. The head of this missionary society was the Rev. T. H. Ziemendorf of Wiesbaden. Kumm himself soon left it. Assuan, at the first cataract of the Nile, was occupied as the first station of the mission in 1901. At first there were many difficulties and disappointments both at home and on the mission field, but latterly, under the management of a medical missionary, two young missionaries and a few lady missionaries, the work in Assuan seems to be quietly prospering. Darawi was occupied as a second station, a place lying to the north of Assuan, and inhabited solely by Muhammadans. In all probability this mission will need unusual patience, as it has chosen a particularly hard point at which to begin Muhammadan mission work. The Kaiserswerth deaconesses have established hospitals in Alexandria and Cairo. While Fliedner, the founder of this society, was staying in Egypt for the benefit of his health during the winter of 1856 to 1857, he rented a roomy house in a healthful part of Alexandria, which he fitted up as a hospital. This house was afterwards bought, but, as its sanitary arrangements were not wholly suitable for the purpose, a new house was built, in which as many as 28,850 in-patients and out-patients have been treated in a single year.

In Cairo the German, Swiss, English and North American residents founded a hospital, which was named the "Victoria Hospital" in honour of the Queen of England. This was handed over to the management of the Kaiserswerth deacon-

esses. In this stronghold of Islam there is no more effectual preaching of the Gospel than this Christian medical work. Both these hospitals are open to patients of all nations and religions.

3. The Church Missionary Society Mission in Egypt

The work of the Church Missionary Society in Egypt is more important than that of the smaller societies of which we have just spoken. We have already shown how Church Missionary Society missionaries were sent to Egypt in connection with the great Mediterranean Mission scheme of the society, and how they carried on a quiet work among the Kopts. But as the United Presbyterians of America had started more extensive operations in Egypt, the Church Missionary Society retired for a time from that field. Yet the land of the Pharaohs, hoary with age, and rich in associations with Bible history, always exercised a powerful attraction upon religious circles in England, and the thoughts of the Church Missionary Society were directed anew to Egypt.

Miss Mary Whately, a daughter of Dr. Whately, the Archbishop of Dublin, had begun schools for Muhammadan boys and girls in Cairo in 1861; these schools were sometimes attended by as many as 600 children, and in connection with them there was medical work. Miss Whately attracted the attention of the English public by her book, entitled "Ragged Life in Egypt." Towards the end of her life (she died in 1889), she proposed to transfer the management of the schools to the Church Missionary Society.[1]

At about the same time, two influential members of the Church Missionary Society committee, General Lake and General Haig, drew attention to the problems of missions among Muhammadans, in consequence of which the society energetically took up this long-neglected branch of mission work in India, Persia, Palestine and elsewhere; and Egypt was recog-

[1] This transfer did not actually take place. After Miss Whately's death, first her sister and then Farida Shakur, a Syrian lady, carried on the schools until they were transferred to the United Presbyterians of America in 1901.

nized as being the best centre from which to work. Arabic is the language of Muhammadan theology and culture; accordingly, those nations which have Arabic for their mother-tongue are regarded, in a way, as the nobility of Islam. The Arabian Peninsula, though possessing peculiar religious attractions, the most striking manifestation of which is the yearly pilgrimage (hadj) to the two sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, plays otherwise no important part, on account of its remoteness and its desert character. Thus Egypt takes the first place. The *madriseh* in the El Azhar Mosque in Cairo is by far the most important university of the Moslem world. Contemporaneously with the founding of Cairo by Gauhar, the vizier of the Fatimide Sultan Muizz in 969 A. D., this famous university arose, and has, for nine and a half centuries, sent forth an uninterrupted stream of teachers of classical Arabic and of orators speaking in the sacred language of the Koran. In 1879, when the number of students was at its height, there were 11,095 men, taught by 325 professors, while at present there are no fewer than 10,000 students and 250 professors. But it must not be assumed that the standard of learning is very high in this university. The curriculum is still that of the Muhammadan scholasticism of the Middle Ages. When the intelligent predecessor of the present mufti attempted to introduce the study of at least some of the elementary branches of modern learning, as geography and history, he failed. Thus the El Azhar University is a gigantic anachronism in modern Egypt. But it is none the less a formidable stronghold of unbending Islamic fanaticism. Since Egypt lies on the world's great highroad of commerce, while at the same time her language is Arabic and the El Azhar University is situated within her borders, she has become the focus of Panislamism, *i. e.*, of the attempt to combine all Muhammadans in opposition to Christian states.[1] Hand in hand

[1] Lord Cromer says in his last official report (March, 1907), that every European state having political interests in the East should closely watch this Panislamic movement, since it may lead to sporadic outbreaks of fanaticism in various parts of the world; and that such an outbreak had been imminent in Egypt dur-

with this movement there is a determined nationalism expressed in the motto, "Egypt for the Egyptians," which also aims at putting an end to European influence and English government. It was this importance of Egypt in the world of Islam that induced the Church Missionary Society to take action. After the suppression of Arabi Pasha's rebellion and the occupation of Egypt by England, the mission in Egypt was once more begun, but only for work among Muhammadans.

The Church Missionary Society can hardly be said to have approached this difficult task at the start with sufficient energy. The society contented itself at first with sending to Egypt one of the veterans of their Palestine Mission, who had retired from service some time before, a German named F. A. Klein, the discoverer of the Moabite stone of Mesha. His instructions were to go on with his Arabic translations, in addition to selling Protestant literature and coming into personal touch with the people. Six years later, in 1688, Dr. Harpur, a medical missionary, was sent to Cairo. Zealous in his profession, he nevertheless engaged in general pioneering work rather than devoting himself to constant attendance upon a hospital. We find him, accordingly, during the following ten years, doing important and arduous work, now here, now there; in the Sinaitic Peninsula, in Aden, Hodeida and Suakim. Egypt has had the special benefit of his skill only since there has been placed at his disposal a roomy house-boat, in which he can visit the Delta and Lower Nile as doctor and evangelist. The orderly expansion of the work in Cairo began in 1890, when a considerable number of lady missionaries were sent out, and a mission hospital was built in Old Cairo. Since then the work of the Church Missionary Society Mission has expanded in three directions, medical,

ing the spring of 1906, when the population let itself be suddenly lashed into fury by mendacious revolutionary articles in the Panislamic press, the impression having been made that the supreme head of the Islamic religion was being wantonly attacked. At that time Egypt was on the verge of a Panislamic rebellion!

educational and evangelistic. The Cairo hospital has a capable staff of two doctors and four nurses, and has had a valuable accession in the "Ethel Pain Memorial Hospital" for women and children. It has many Muhammadan patients. The lady missionaries devote themselves largely to girls' schools. They have established girls' primary schools in Cairo itself, in the Old Cairo suburb and in Helwan, a health resort of world-wide fame. There are also girls' boarding-schools in Cairo and Helwan. A training class for Bible-women and teachers completes the scheme. Not so many Muhammadan girls, however, attend these schools as the mission could wish, especially since the Muhammadans themselves have opened girls' schools with great zeal, and considerable financial support. Whenever a girl appears to be yielding to Christian influences, or a Muhammadan joins the Christian Church, the schools at once feel the shock. The lady missionaries also do a great amount of house to house visiting among Muhammadan and Koptic women, in which arduous work they have to contend with much opposition.

A new branch of the Church Missionary Society work was inaugurated in 1898, when two close friends, Rev. Douglas Thornton and Rev. Wm. H. G. Gairdner, were sent out to do evangelistic work among Muhammadans. Both these men had prepared themselves for their task by special study. They made arrangements for public discussions in Arabic and English, on which occasions they usually opened the debate with an address. They even ventured openly to preach the Gospel on other evenings, but not without exciting fanatical opposition and stormy scenes. They also made great use of the bookstore, to which, as usual, a reading-room was attached, being much frequented. Here they found many an opportunity quietly to present the contrast between Christianity and Islam, Christ and Muhammad. Their weekly paper, *Orient and Occident*, which had a large circulation, extending as far as Upper Egypt, was a still more effective branch of their work. This paper, like the *Epiphany* of the Oxford Brotherhood in Calcutta, opened its columns to any

Egyptian who wished to state his scruples, or to ask questions, or to give his religious experiences. This is exactly what a people in whom new ideas are fermenting requires. In this way doors were opened in various parts of the country. Thornton sought to make the most of this by arranging public meetings while on his evangelistic tours throughout the country. These meetings were always crowded. Kopts belonging to the ancient Church, as well as Protestant Kopts, and even influential Muhammadans, assisted him in the arranging and carrying out of these mission campaigns, which were quite a novelty in the mission history of the Near East, and which were even now possible only by reason of the protection afforded by the *pax Britannica*. Unfortunately the talented and zealous Thornton died on the 7th of September, 1907, while still a comparatively young man.

There have not been wanting tokens of success in the work of the Church Missionary Society. For twenty years there have been a few Muhammadans baptized each year. Most of these, to be sure, have been young people, who had been brought to seek the truth in the Syrian or Asia Minor Missions, and had fled to seek refuge under the English in Egypt, in order there to be instructed and baptized. Some of the accessions created much excitement, most of all, perhaps, the case of a former violent opponent, Mahmud, the son of an influential sheikh in the south of Palestine, and a graduate of the El Azhar University, who, in October, 1905, entered the class of catechumens, and, in February, 1906, publicly confessed the Christian faith in the presence of Lord Cromer and the highest Egyptian authorities, being baptized and taking the name of Bulus (Paul).

It was in accordance with the premier position of Egypt in the world of Islam that the first International Protestant Conference of missionaries among Muhammadans was held in Cairo. This conference met from the 4th to the 9th of April, 1906. Twenty-nine societies sent delegates to it. The Church Missionary Society offered them hospitality in the house occupied by Thornton and Gairdner, which had once been

Arabi Pasha's palace. Two sets of lengthy papers dealt with the chief Islamic countries and the methods adopted by missionaries among Muhammadans. These papers were subsequently published in two volumes, "The Mohammedan World of To-day" (295 pp.), and "Methods of Mission Work Among Moslems" (236 pp.), the latter being printed only for private circulation. Without question, missions among Muhammadans present so many peculiar difficulties, and demand such special training, that conferences of experts are well-nigh necessary, if Christendom is determined to prosecute this branch of mission work in real earnest.

4. *The Egyptian Sudan*

The location of the sources of the Nile was one of the mysteries of antiquity. We do not know how far up the Nile the Egyptians pressed in their conquests and in commerce. But at any rate the kingdom of Meroe extended as far as Khartum. During the first centuries of the Christian era, Christianity spread from Egypt into Nubia, and in the fifth and sixth centuries it reigned supreme from Egypt to Abyssinia. After Amr, the Arab, had conquered Egypt, he marched into Nubia, where, however, he was bravely repulsed by a well-disciplined army. Nubia maintained its political independence and its Christian Church under native Christian kings without break into the fifteenth century. An interesting record of this period still exists in the description of his journey by the Egyptian Ambassador Abdallah Achmed, who had been commissioned in 970 by the Fatimide Khalif to visit the Christian royal courts of Nubia. He gives glowing descriptions of the cultural and religious condition of the country:—"In the course of three days we passed about thirty towns with beautiful houses, churches and monasteries, numberless palm-groves, vineyards and gardens, extensive fields, and a great number of camels of good breed and of great beauty. From Dongola to the confines of the kingdom of Alua (Sennar) the distance is greater than from Dongola to Assuan. And in all the intervening country you see an

infinitely greater number of towns, villages, herds, corn-fields, vineyards, and palm-groves than in the province that borders on the Muhammadan territory." Towards the end of the thirteenth century the Mameluke sultans of Egypt found occasion to interfere in a question concerning the succession in Nubia, and succeeded in placing their tool upon the throne. In this way the northern province of Dongola first became dependent on Egypt. After this a heavy tribute of slaves was imposed on the Nubians, and eventually the country was ruined by the increasing slave-trade in Egypt. The various provinces and kingdoms into which Nubia was at that time divided fell into constant feud with one another in the attempt to capture slaves one from the other. Gradually the slave-driver himself came from Egypt to pursue his nefarious trade on a larger scale, and so the slave hunts and slave wars, that are so well known, began. In this state of anarchy the Christian Church perished. It can hardly be shown how its gradual dissolution took place.

A Portuguese priest, who travelled in Abyssinia in 1520 and 1527, found the country in a miserable state of transition, being "neither Christian, nor Jewish, nor Muhammadan," "without religion or law, but still with the desire to remain Christian." As they had neither bishops nor priests, they sent a deputation to the Abuna of Abyssinia to ask him for priests; but they got none. Traces of Christianity still remained into the nineteenth century. When General Gordon became governor of the Sudan in 1884 he found a bishop in Khartum with seven churches and a convent. Even this poor remnant was fearfully decimated in the Mahdi rising (*Intelligencer*, 1899, pp. 266 ff., 895).

In 1906 there were found considerable remnants of ancient Christian writings in the ancient language of Nubia, portions of a translation of the Bible and fragments of ecclesiastical literature. This is a fact that must excite thoughts in the mind of a friend of mission work, for the Nubians belong to a large national and linguistic family, formerly called the Nuba-Fulah group, but now the Sudanese, to whom belong also the

Ga and Tshi of the Gold Coast and the Ewe of the Slave Coast. Thus one member of this national family, which is to-day sunk in the deepest heathenism, had, more than a thousands years ago, a Christian royal house and a native Christian literature.

Under the ambitious and brilliant dynasty of Muhammad Ali a period of Egyptian conquests began. It was the ambition of Muhammad Ali and of Ismail to found a greater Egypt up to the Equator. The former pushed in 1819 into the Sudan, beyond Khartum. The chief result of this invasion was an increase of the detestable slave-trade, which had already been carried on in the Sudan for a long time on a large scale. Now, under Egyptian rule, it became the staple trade of the country. Military posts were the centres from which to hunt slaves for service in the army, and the Nile became the favourite route of the slave-dealers. Khartum was the chief slave market. Up to 1853 Egyptian rule extended no further than to a point one hundred and twenty miles south of Khartum, so that the negroes living on the upper White Nile and on the Bahr-el-Ghazal were not much troubled. In 1853, however, a European trading expedition pushed further up the river, to be followed by others. Stations were established, which were protected by armed Arabs and Nubians. Within a few years the European traders sold their stations to Arab agents, who were called Khartumers, because they had their headquarters in that city. They became small independent potentates, and never was there a greater curse let loose upon a country. By means of their armed robber bands they plundered the native races or stirred them up one against the other.

When Ismail Pasha was made viceroy in 1863, he saw that it was impossible to rule over the Sudan by Egyptian agents. He accordingly granted to Sir Samuel Baker unlimited powers over the territory to the south of Gondokoro, which now forms part of the Uganda Protectorate. Baker arrived in Gondokoro in 1871, and formally added it to the newly formed province of Ismailia. The following year he declared Unyoro

an Egyptian province, and entered into friendly relations with Mtesa, the king of Uganda. For a short time the slave-trade was abolished through his energetic action, but between 1873, when he returned to Cairo, and the year following, when General Gordon came for the first time, the trade revived. First as governor of the province of Ismailia, and then as governor-general of the Egyptian Sudan (1874–1879), Gordon was most earnestly occupied in introducing order into the vast waste territory, and above all he endeavoured thoroughly to root out the slave-trade. But his success, also, was only transient.

The immorality and corruption of the Egyptian officials had caused great dissatisfaction among the classes of the people that were engaged in agriculture and commerce. The extortion of the tax-gatherers had impoverished many. The sporadic attempts to suppress the slave-trade had made the nomad races restless, since their chief source of income lay in that trade. All these disturbed interests were only waiting for a strong man to lead them in open rebellion. And into this powder-magazine there fell the spark of religious fanaticism. The son of a Dongola carpenter, Sheikh Muhammad Achmed, declared himself, in August, 1881, during the fast of Ramadan, to be the promised Mahdi. On the 3d of November, 1883, he annihilated the Egyptian army, ten thousand strong, led by Hicks Pasha. All hope for the Egyptian Sudan was then abandoned. In this serious crisis, Gordon was again sent thither to save what remained. But unfortunately the force placed at his disposal was not strong enough. When the wild hordes of the Mahdi stormed Khartum on the 24th of January, 1885, he fell. The Mahdi himself, indeed, died in June of the same year, but the khalif whom he had appointed, Abdullah, a Baggara of the Taaisha tribe from Darfur, carried out the Mahdi's plans with perhaps even greater bloodthirstiness. This reign of terror lasted for twelve years, and is one of the blackest chapters in the history of narrow-minded Moslem fanaticism, in all its hatred of culture. The tribes of the Nile Valley were decimated. Executions, massacres and con-

fiscations were the order of the day. The inhabitants of entire districts, *e. g.*, along the Blue Nile, were compelled to settle in Omdurman, which was thus increased to a city with a population of 400,000. The horrors of the slave-trade were never more shocking than under this Khalif's rule. At length, in 1898, an Anglo-Egyptian army under Kitchener succeeded in defeating the Khalif, and putting an end to his rule.

The immense Egyptian Sudan was, by an arrangement not quite easy to understand, placed under the joint government of England and Egypt. It became practically an English province, governed at the cost of Egypt. There was great enthusiasm among the supporters of the Anglican Mission for following up with mission work the undertaking of General Gordon, who was greatly venerated in evangelical circles. He himself had, from 1874 to 1879, urgently requested the Church Missionary Society to begin work in the Egyptian Sudan. After his death this society received subscriptions amounting to £3,000 for establishing a "Gordon Memorial Mission." The first attempts in this direction, however, General Haig's journey to Suakim and Hodeida in 1886, and that of the medical missionary, Dr. F. J. Harpur to Suakim, proved abortive. The time had not yet come.

But when the British flag floated over the Sudan in 1898, the enthusiasm was renewed. The Church Missionary Society was now ready to begin a mission on a grand scale. The United Presbyterians also began to push their work forward into the Sudan. But just then a new, and for a time insuperable, difficulty arose, namely, the policy of the English government, which strictly prohibited missions in the Moslem Sudan. The reason for this as propounded by Lord Cromer is so instructive that we must give his words as they appeared in the Blue Book, 1905, No. 1, April:

"In the northern portion of the Sudan . . . it would not, for the present, be possible, without incurring great danger, to adopt so liberal and tolerant a policy as that pursued in Egypt. The population of the Sudan generally is as yet far too ignorant and uncivilized to be able to distinguish

between the action of the British government in their corporate capacity, and that of an individual European, whether of British or any other nationality. If free scope were allowed to missionary enterprise, it would not only be unproductive of result, but would also create a feeling of resentment, culminating possibly in actual disturbance, which, far from advancing, would almost certainly throw back that work of civilization, which all connected with the country, whether or not connected with missionary enterprise, have so much at heart.

"Under these circumstances, I have stated in my annual report for 1902 that both Sir Reginald Wingate and myself were of opinion that 'the time was still distant when mission work could with safety and advantage be permitted amongst the Moslem population of the Sudan.' We both remain of that opinion. It is impossible at present to assign any precise limit to the duration of the existing restrictions. From the point of view of British missionary enterprise those restrictions are so far practically unimportant, in that a large field of activity, which they have as yet, owing to want of funds, been unable to occupy, has been opened out to them in the southern portion of the Sudan. To a certain very limited extent, an exception to the application of the principle above enunciated has been made within the second zone, in the case of Khartum. The population of that town is not wholly Moslem. There are many Christians resident, of various denominations. Moreover, being the seat of government, the action of any missionary bodies can be carefully supervised; whilst the Moslem population, being in immediate touch with the governing authorities, can more readily comprehend the policy adopted than those residing in the outlying provinces. Further, an active demand for education, which the government is unable to meet adequately from its own resources, exists, on the part of both Moslems aud Christians. Under these circumstances permission has been given for the establishment of mission schools at Khartum. It is for the heads of these schools to decide on the amount of religious instruction which shall be afforded to the pupils. The duty of the

government is limited to providing that any Moslem parent, or parent of some religious denomination other than that under whose auspices the school has been instituted, shall clearly understand the conditions under which secular instruction is imparted, before he sends his child to the school. Regulations having this object in view have accordingly been framed."

This refusal on the part of the government has greatly added to the difficulty of establishing the mission securely in the Sudan. Let us take up separately the Arabian Sudan, extending as far south as the latitude of Fashoda (10° N.), and the heathen Sudan, extending southwards to the Protectorate of Uganda.

(*a*) There has been a great immigration into the Arabian Sudan since the English occupation, including Christians from Egypt and Syria. The government has opened up the country by the construction of a railway system from Assuan via Wadi Halfa to Khartum, and from Atbara, near Berber on the Nile, to Port Sudan, near Suakim, on the Red Sea; and also by the establishment of a regular steamboat service. As a great number of officials and educated men of all kinds is required, immigration is liberally encouraged. Khartum is gradually developing into a civilized city, and Halfa, Atbara, Port Sudan and other towns are beginning to flourish. As there were many Protestants from Egypt and Syria among the immigrants, the United Presbyterians felt themselves in duty bound to follow them and, especially, to gather them into congregations and associations. They are mostly young people. The Nile Synod in Egypt regards the Sudan as its mission field, and has already sent two of its ordained ministers thither. The Presbyterians have established a main station at Khartum, and have begun educational work on a modest scale. The latter is hampered by the government regulation that Muhammadans must signify their willingness in writing, before their children may attend Christian religious instruction. The Church Missionary Society has also a station in Khartum, but, since the death of the medical missionary, Dr.

Hall, who was stationed there, the staff has been very weak. This mission is distinguished by having a large, well-attended girls' school in a roomy house.

(*b*) While the English government thought it right to exclude Christian missions from Moslem Sudan, it not only threw open the heathen part of the country south of Fashoda, but even heartily invited the missions to enter. Lord Cromer, in writing to the English clergyman, Rev. R. MacInnes, in December, 1904, said that the Sudan government would welcome the coöperation of the missionaries in the work of civilization. Two societies accepted the invitation. The United Presbyterians settled in Dolaib, on the Sobat, sixty miles above Fashoda. Naturally their work in this completely new field is not yet highly developed. Dolaib lies in the district of Shilluk or Shulla. Comparatively near at hand are the tribal lands of the Northern Dinka, the Nuehr, the Barun and the Anyok, each with a more or less distinct dialect, so that each tribe requires at least one main station, and the literary work promises to be very heavy. Unfortunately Arabic, and with it Islam, is making great progress, and both are encouraged by the government. Further, it is a very unhealthful country, so that a frequent change among the missionaries seems to be unavoidable. It is considered desirable that each of them should spend three months of every year in a more healthful climate (F. K. Giffen, "The Egyptian Sudan," New York, 1906).

In January, 1906, the Church Missionary Society began boldly to push forward a thousand miles south of Khartum into the region of the White Nile, which is very flat, and therefore exposed to the great overflowings of the river, and, eighty miles south of the unhealthfully situated English military post at Bor, three stations followed one another in quick succession, Melwal and Meluk on the Nile, and Gwalla, near Sheikh Bior, inland in an easterly direction. For this work the Church Missionary Society has ample funds and a staff of three ordained missionaries, one doctor and two laymen. All three stations lie in the territory of the Southern Dinka. It

was hoped that a good beginning might be made in using a Dinka translation of the Gospel according to St. Luke, which had been prepared by Professor Mittelrutzer of Bozen, who had made use of the writings of Roman Catholic missionaries. But all the work had to be done over again, because the dialect of the Southern Dinka differs considerably from that in which the translation was written. It is to be regretted that the population of this region is very small. The mission enjoys an advantage, on the other hand, in the fact that the Dinka as well as the Bari, their neighbours, have a dislike of the Muhammadans, bordering on hatred, on account of the former slave raids. Nor does there seem to be any priestly class among them. There is a great lack of timber, stone and brick-clay for building purposes, so that there will be considerable difficulty in building solid and sanitary houses. The English are planning gigantic operations for developing the country. They are about to make a new channel 500 miles long right across the country, to carry off the water from a section of the Nile, which is blocked by the much feared sudd (papyrus islands), that hinders navigation and causes enormous floods (*Intelligencer*, 1906, pp. 62 ff., 568 ff.).

(*B*) *Abyssinia*

At the time of the Islamic conquest of Northern Africa, only one Christian country offered determined and permanent resistance, the kingdom, or empire, of Abyssinia (C. Paul, "Abessinien und die evangelische Kirche." R. W. Dietels, "Missionsstunden." Heft 5, 2te Auflage, Dresden, 1905). At the beginning of the fourteenth century Frumentius and Ædesius, Christians from Phœnicia, brought the Gospel to Abyssinia, having been shipwrecked on the rocky coast. In 326 A. D. the former became the first bishop of the country, having been appointed by Athanasius. During the fifth century many monks went thither from Egypt, continuing the Christianizing of the inhabitants; by the end of the century the royal family appears to have embraced Christianity. In consequence of this connection with Egypt, the Monophysite heresy,

which was prevalent there, was adopted in Abyssinia as the authorized faith, and has remained so to the present day. Thus the Abyssinian Church, hidden away in the interior of Africa, was removed from the influences of the general ecclesiastical development. Even the influence of the doctrinally allied Koptic Church declined in proportion as that Church became spiritually impoverished. Yet Abyssinia was not left to herself. For centuries she was obliged to defend her political and ecclesiastical independence against the repeated and often fierce assaults of Muhammadanism. Though sometimes brought to the verge of ruin in these wars, she was yet, in the end, able to maintain that independence. Beginning with the sixteenth century a new conflict arose, which was almost more fateful for her culture and her religion. The countless hordes of the savage Galla, "barbarians," broke in upon her from the interior of Africa, occupying first the parts of the country lying near to the boundary, and then pushing on as far as Gojam, Shoa and Amhara, right into the heart of Abyssinia, the very existence of which was thus endangered. Only after decades of tedious wars did the Abyssinians assert their supremacy by forcing the Galla into submission, or at least making them tributary. Those of the Galla who settled in Abyssinia proper were Christianized during the following centuries. But if the Christian culture of the country had before this been poor, it became still more degenerate under the influence of so many superficially Christianized heathen, who introduced their old heathen negro practices into Christian worship. It seems miraculous that, in spite of all these drawbacks, the three and a half million Abyssinians of the present day are mostly Christians.

It was only owing to her isolated position that Abyssinia was able to maintain herself intact. Like a gigantic, unbroken rampart, the outrunners of the Abyssinian Alps rise from the narrow, sandy, burning and unhealthful plains that border on the Red Sea. Within fifty miles inland from Massowa, the chief harbour on the Red Sea, the only road of any size, running from the coast, rises to a height of more

than 7,500 feet. Beyond the coast range, which rises to a height of 13,700 feet, a high and undulating table-land stretches out towards the west. In the east its average height is 10,500 feet, while in the west and north it attains an altitude of between 6,200 and 8,200 feet. Deep-cut valleys, some of them lying 3,000 feet below the level of the table-land, in which wild mountain torrents rush through an almost impenetrable tropical undergrowth of primeval forests, cut up into isolated rocky islands the immense land, more than half as great as the entire German Empire. Above the table land tower numberless, precipitous, flat-topped mountains, the "Amba," so characteristic of Abyssinia, which, though approached with difficulty, are well watered and covered with abundant vegetation. Still more lofty, reaching into the region of eternal snow, are the Alps of Simen with the Ras Dashan (14,200 feet). In other parts of the country single peaks rise to a height of over 13,000 feet. On the eastern and northern borders, across which the most dangerous of the enemies of Abyssinia threaten, the country is difficult of approach, and to the west, also, protection is afforded by widespread, fever-breeding swamps, the "Quolla" of evil fame. Thus this immense, inland rock-island has been enabled to maintain a separate historic existence and a civilization peculiar to itself, in the very heart of Africa. Quite apart from the point of view of missionary work, this interesting country has constantly claimed the attention of Europe during the last half century. We are compelled by the fact that its political history is so closely interwoven with the record of missions within its borders, to deal more in detail with that ever changing, romantic and exciting history.

In 1855 Kasa, an energetic chief of Amhara, who had risen from the lowest ranks of the tribe, succeeded in subduing the rest of the chiefs, including the Emperor of Gondar, who was emperor only in name. He had himself crowned as Negus Negust, taking the title of Theodore II (1855–1868). At first his reign was just and strong, many reforms being introduced. But, being passionately proud of his army, he increased it to

nearly 150,000 men, far too large a standing army for the needs of the country, and a heavy burden on the poverty-stricken people. As he was also intent on arming his soldiers with better weapons, and spared no expense in the purchase of rifles and cannon, he imposed greater and greater taxes. This gave rise to rebellions in province after province, which he had to be constantly suppressing with much bloodshed. The disturbed state of the country led to increasing savagery on the part of the people, the soldiery, and, not least, of Theodore himself. Further, thinking himself despised and insulted by the European Powers when he sought to enter into treaties with them as an equal, he developed more and more into a bloodthirsty African tyrant. In the autumn of 1867 he imprisoned all Europeans living in his country, ambassadors, travellers and missionaries in the gloomy fortress of Magdala. As all endeavours to treat with him for the release of the prisoners failed, a military expedition of 16,000 men under General (afterwards Lord) Napier was dispatched in the spring of 1868 to Abyssinia. The expedition pushed on to Magdala, whereupon Theodore set some of his prisoners free and sued for peace. But the fortress was taken by storm on the 13th of April, and it was found that Theodore had shot himself. Thereupon the British released all the prisoners and retired.

Some years of civil war ensued, there being several aspirants to the throne, until, in 1871, one of them mounted the throne with the aid of England, taking the name of John. He reigned as Negus from 1871 to 1889. During his eventful reign three fearful storms threatened the very existence of this much assailed land. Egypt had for a thousand years been making attempts to subdue Abyssinia. She had at that time extended her power southwards into the heart of Africa, and her armies now made an attack from the north and the southeast, but they were routed, first at Gundet, in 1875, and then at Gura, in 1876. Peace was concluded in 1879, and Egypt has never again invaded Abyssinia.

In 1882 Italy occupied a part of the Red Sea coast, in 1885 annexing Massowa, which was necessary to Abyssinia as a

point of access to the sea. War broke out between the two countries. A treaty was made in 1889, in the reign of John's successor, Menelik, who acknowledged Italy's protectorate. But Menelik soon repented of this concession, which had been made while he did not feel secure on his throne, and he determined to renew the contest. After his general, Ras Mangasha, had suffered several defeats, Menelik succeeded in nearly annihilating the Italian army under General Baratieri on the 1st of March, 1896, in a bloody battle, in which the Italians lost 250 officers and 7,000 men. Peace was then made, and the Mareb was fixed as the boundary between the Italian colony of Eritrea and Abyssinia. While engaged in this conflict with Italy, the Negus John was attacked in the rear by a more formidable enemy. The Mahdists rushed in from the northwest with furious fanaticism, destroying all before them with fire and sword. John led his army against them, defeating them utterly in a two days' battle near Metammeh (or Metamineh) on the river Kalabat. He himself, however, was slain. Menelik of Shoa, a brave and wise man, seized the throne, and was crowned Negus Negust with great pomp in the spring of 1890.

As we are concerned particularly with the history of missionary undertakings, the religious affairs of Abyssinia are of special importance. At the head of the Church stands the Abuna or Abba Salama (Father of Peace), who must always be a Koptic priest, consecrated for this office by anointing at the hands of the Patriarch of Cairo. Although differing in race and language from the people of the country, he possesses great authority by virtue of his office, even the position of Negus depending upon his favour in many a critical juncture. In addition to a numerous priesthood (mostly married men), there is a still greater number of monks and nuns living in large, and sometimes celebrated, monasteries and convents, as is the case in the Koptic Church. These have the guardianship of the small remnant of ecclesiastical learning, and, a remarkable fact when we consider the lifelessness of the Church, are engaged every now and then in bitter theological warfare.

Such a contest on the question whether there had been a two-fold birth of Christ, namely, His coming forth from the Father and His birth in Bethlehem, or a threefold, the descending of the Holy Spirit upon Him at His baptism being the third birth, engaged the attention of the entire Church at times during the last century, and had its influence on the home policy of the country. There are numberless churches, mostly on hills under the shade of trees, pleasant structures of modest appearance, built of clay and with thatched roofs. Their peculiarity is that they are mostly round, and are divided into three parts, an outer court, a holy place, and a holy of holies, as was the temple at Jerusalem. The outer court, which runs round the main building, is the place in which the people assemble, and serves at night time as a lodging for shelterless travellers. In the holy of holies there is always a wooden ark, made like the "ark of the covenant" in the chief church at Axum, which is regarded as the most sacred possession of the Church. In the services the ancient sacred Geez language is used, now a dead language, not understood by the common people. There is no preaching. The baptism of boys takes place on the fortieth day after birth, that of girls on the eightieth day. At the same time the children receive the holy communion. There are innumerable church festivals and fast days. Apart from the chief church festivals and the Sabbath there are one hundred saints' days, so that there are one hundred and eighty festivals of one kind or another in the course of a year. The fasts are as a rule rigorously observed, and there are two hundred fast days in a year for one reason or another. The chief virtue of their religion consists in the observance of these fasts and in the worship of the Saints, of the Virgin Mary above all. Circumcision is the rule. Polygamy, though forbidden and punished with exclusion from the holy communion, is nevertheless very common.

In addition to the Christian Abyssinians, numerous other races or fragments of races dwell in Abyssinia, whose religions are most varied, as, for instance, the Kamants and Zalanes. The Falasha, "exiles," are of some importance from the point of

view of the missions. From the earliest times of which we have knowledge there has been much Semitic immigration. The royal family proudly traces its descent from Menelik, a reputed son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. For centuries the Jews have had independent princes in the country, who have even sometimes usurped the throne. This is the source of the introduction of such things as the ark into the churches, and of the rite of circumcision into Abyssinian religious customs. The Falasha were not, as was generally supposed, immigrant Jews, but Judaized remnants of the aboriginal pre-Semitic, Hamitic Cushites; for the vulgar tongue is to the present day a pre-Semitic dialect, like that of the Agaw or Agam, who also belong to the aborigines of the country. The Falasha live scattered over many provinces of Abyssinia, being most numerous in mountainous Simen and in the region to the north and northwest of the lake of Tana. They are industrious farmers, clever also in the building of houses, yet in other respects even more ignorant than the Christian Abyssinians. Before the missionaries came into touch with them, they had hardly any books, for instance, none of the Talmudic literature. In fact they seem never to have been under the influence of the later Jewish type, the rabbinical. On the contrary, there are among them traces of the ancient Canaanitic Astarte worship. They worship Sanballat as the "Queen of Heaven," expecting riches and prosperity from her. There is amongst them a most remarkable mixture of ancient Jewish, Christian, and heathen African customs. From Judaism they have their priests, their high priest, and the blood offerings in their mesgids (synagogues), as well as the painful observation of the laws of purification. From Christianity there came the curious introduction of monks and nuns, the monks being compelled to emasculate themselves on entering the order. To African heathenism the prevalence of sorcery must be ascribed. The Falasha are generally regarded as great sorcerers, and especially as rain-makers.[1]

[1] H. A. Stern, "An Account of a Missionary Tour to the Falasha," London, 1861. J. M. Flad, "A Short Description of the Abyssinian Jews," Basle, 1865.

1. The Church Missionary Society Mission from 1830 to 1843

The history of missions in Abyssinia may be divided into three diverse periods, the first of which deals with the most romantic of the missionary undertakings, that, namely, of the Church Missionary Society. It caused much excitement at the time in Protestant circles in England and Germany, and has given Abyssinia a lasting place in their hearts. We make here the acquaintance of men who have accomplished great things by heroic and persevering faith. We must first sketch in a few broad strokes the gloomy and stormy political background, against which this episode stands out in great brilliancy. The ancient imperial dynasty, which had its seat in Gondar, had completely lost its power and was but a name. The princes or kings of the various provinces had become independent, and engaged in war, especially with one another, on their own account. Sabagadis, the prince of Tigré, was at war with Ube, the prince of Amhara, and fell in battle in 1830. His two sons, Wolda Michael and Cassai endeavoured to regain the kingdom their father had lost, their father's enemy, Ube, having had himself crowned king of Tigré in the ancient capital, Axum. Wolda Michael was attacked by his foes and murdered. Cassai, after losing several battles, was subdued by Ube, and when he subsequently rebelled, was definitively deposed and imprisoned. For ten years Tigré and Amhara resounded with the din of battle. It was at this juncture that the Church Missionary Society began its mission in Abyssinia.

Three from among the small company of missionaries sent out deserve special mention, Samuel Gobat, C. W. Isenberg, and Dr. Krapf. All three had enjoyed a similar education. Originally craftsmen, they had come into the mentally active and spiritually stimulating atmosphere of the Basle Mission House. Their stay here, in Gobat's case much interrupted and cut short by illness, deepened in them a tolerant evangelical spirit, rooted in deep piety and an unshakeable confidence in God, which made it easy for them to enter the service of the evangelical English society, and to feel at home in the circles

of Anglican piety. All three of them were decidedly interested, also, in scientific studies, Gobat, especially, having had the advantage of studying for some years in Paris under the celebrated orientalist, De Sacy. All three, also, attended for some time the Islington College of the Church Missionary Society, after which they were ordained by an Anglican bishop. But with all this similarity of outward circumstance, there was a great diversity of individual character and talent among them. Yet they met the severe difficulties, which greeted them all alike, in the same spirit of indefatigable and fearless determination, being often led thereby to the verge of destruction. Gobat was the church statesman, who with tact and energy maintained the cause of his divine calling before the superior authorities of the Church and the mighty in the land, being the strongest character of the three, in spite of his youthfulness. Isenberg was the plodding German man of letters, whose chief joy it was to be studying foreign languages, writing grammars and school-books, and laying the foundation of a Protestant literature. Krapf was the man of bold projects, full of brilliant ideas and far-reaching plans. First he fascinated the Protestant public with his scheme of the Apostles' Road, and later with the similar plan of establishing a chain of stations right across Africa. God led all three of them later in a marvellous way. Gobat, as Bishop of Jerusalem, was to develop the full weight of his personality; Isenberg went to India as a missionary, and devoted his talents to further study and to educational work; Krapf became the enthusiastic pioneer of the route from the East Coast of Africa into the pathless interior. But Abyssinia remained for all their first love, the country of romance in their missionary work.

The attention of the Church Missionary Society was attracted to Abyssinia by accident, as it were. An Abyssinian monk, Abu Ruchi, who had accompanied the English explorer Bruce, had come with him to Alexandria, and was there persuaded by the consul-general of France, Asselin de Cherville, to translate the Bible into the Amharic vulgar tongue, which is

at the present time most commonly spoken in Abyssinia. The English missionary, W. Jowett, found his manuscript of 9,539 pages in Alexandria, and bought it for the British and Foreign Bible Society (1818). After an agreement with the Church Missionary Society, the Bible Society printed portions of the translation, especially the Gospels and the Psalms. Then the question arose how the blessing of a Bible intelligible to the common people was to be introduced into that far-off land, so difficult of access; how this "talent" was to be "put into the bank." The two young missionaries, Gobat and Kugler, received a commission to go to Abyssinia. But it was three years before they found an opportunity to do so; at the end of this time, however, the opportunity seemed all the more favourable for having been delayed. In Alexandria they were in a position to earn the deep gratitude of the ambassador of Prince Sabagadis, so that they were permitted to accompany him on his return journey to Tigré in 1830. Sabagadis received them with open arms, and, at first, everything seemed to promise well both in the Tigré residence, Adigrat, and in the capital, Gondar, whither Gobat had at once hurried. The Bibles in Amharic were objects of interest, and everybody wanted to talk with Gobat about the differences between his faith and theirs. However, before matters could be fully settled, the civil war between Sabagadis and Ube broke out, and Sabagadis, the protector of the mission, fell in battle. Kugler, unfortunately, died of a wound he had received from the bursting of his gun while he was hunting. Gobat found a poor enough refuge from the turmoil in monasteries high up in the mountains. Finally, in 1838, he thought it advisable to leave the country for a time.

He returned a year later, along with Isenberg and certain other companions. Isenberg and he had even the courage to take their young wives with them into this inhospitable land. The civil war was still raging, and unbridled license reigned. Nevertheless they settled down in Adowa, intending to build suitable houses for themselves. But this they could not accomplish. Gobat fell ill of a tedious abdominal complaint, which

disabled him for months and nearly caused his death, so that finally he had to leave the country, temporarily a broken man. Isenberg, who had in the meantime been reinforced by the arrival of Blumhardt and Ludwig Krapf, continued his work quietly and patiently. But several of the higher native clergy, desiring to compass his ruin, spread false reports, inciting the prince and people against him. Roman Catholic missionaries had, also, in the meantime, come into the country, and did all in their power to thrust out their inconvenient rivals. The head priest in Adowa, Kiddani Miriam, at length anathematized the missionaries, delivering their souls to Satan, their bodies to the hyenas and their property to the robbers. Whoever approached them was to share their fate. Ube forsook them, and the Abuna wrote dryly to Isenberg, "The Abyssinians are a people that do not desire knowledge and have no love of acquiring it, nor can they be convinced that you are seeking their best interests. What they want of you is that you should give them of your wealth, nothing else." Naturally, after this there could be no staying there and they left Tigré.

In the meantime, however, doors seemed to have been opened into the southern province of Shoa, the prince of which, Sahela Selassie, had given the missionaries a friendly invitation to come. At first Dr. Krapf went thither alone, remaining from 1839 to 1842 in the capital, Ankober, or accompanying the prince on his numerous campaigns. But here, too, all hopes proved delusive. The prince wanted the missionaries on account of their connection with England, and for the sake of their general serviceability, and their guns and gunpowder, but he had neither time nor appreciation for their work as missionaries. Yet Krapf did not lose hope. In 1842 he travelled to Alexandria to bring his wife thence with him to Shoa. Isenberg and another young missionary, Mühleisen, joined him. But, when their caravan arrived at Tajura, on the route to Shoa, they were met with the strict orders of Selassie, that no Englishman was henceforth to be permitted to enter his territory. It was in vain that they waited and

implored; the mission, which had been entered upon with such bright hopes, had to be abandoned in 1843, never to be renewed by the Church Missionary Society.[1]

2. *The Second Period—The Falasha Mission*

A new era now began for Abyssinia. Theodore seized the crown, and nearly the whole of the country came under his sway. After innumerable civil wars, quiet and order seemed to have settled down on the unfortunate land. A new Abuna had arisen, who, while still a Koptic monk, had attended the Anglican mission school in Cairo, under Lieder, and could therefore be expected to be well disposed towards the mission. Gobat, who had in the meantime become the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, had an ardent desire to recommence the mission in the land of his first labours. Men and means for the purpose were placed at his disposal by friends in Germany, and especially by Father Spittler in Basle, who had just founded the St. Chrischona Pilgrims' House for the training of lay evangelists.

King Theodore himself lent a helping hand to the scheme of renewing the mission in his land. He placed the Abyssinian monastery in Jerusalem under Gobat's care, and so began a friendly correspondence with the bishop, who thereupon offered to send missionaries to Abyssinia. Judging by his own former painful experiences, however, he feared that ordained men would awaken the envy of the Abyssinian clergy, and accordingly suggested that the missionaries might best be chosen from among laymen, who were practicing a trade. These men were to establish a reputation for usefulness by

[1] The following literary results of the Church Missionary Society Mission of thirteen years' duration are extant:—Isenberg, "Amharic Grammar," "English-Amharic and Amharic-English Dictionary," Amharic handbooks of geography, history and religion, "Samuel Gobat, Sein Leben und Wirken," Basle, 1884. Gobat's diaries in the *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, 1834, Heft 1 and 2. Isenberg and Krapf, "Journals," detailing their proceedings in the kingdom of Shoa, London, 1843. Isenberg, "Abessinien und die evangelische Mission," 2 vols., 1844. Krapf, "Reisen in Ostafrika," 2 vols.

showing a general readiness to be of service, at the same time thus earning their living; they were also to keep school and to preach the Gospel, without, however, trying to form congregations. Spittler furnished suitable men from among his Chrischona Brethren. In 1885 Dr. Krapf introduced Martin Flad[1] and three other young Brethren to the court of King Theodore. They met with a friendly reception. But it soon became apparent that King Theodore had formed a wrong idea of what their true business was. He wanted European craftsmen, who would be able above all else to cast cannon, repair rifles and make gunpowder for him. If they wanted to do a little school-teaching as well, he would not hinder them. But he let them have neither the time nor the opportunity to prosecute any thorough work of evangelization. Nor was there any improvement, when, in 1885, four more Chrischona Brethren arrived under the leadership of Theodor Waldmeyer. The unfortunate Brethren became royal cannoneers and rifle manufacturers, and their servile condition grew worse as the wild passions of the African despot gained the ascendency.

There seemed to be only one way of rendering even a limited amount of mission work possible. The missionaries had come into frequent touch with the Falasha.[2] Perhaps Theodore would permit the Gospel to be preached among these Jews, and a mission to be begun there. The reports of the capable, self-sacrificing Martin Flad induced two missionary societies, doing work among the Jews, to undertake this task. The great London Society sent H. A. Stern to Abyssinia in 1859. He was a talented man, but was incautious, and did not sufficiently consider the suspicious temperament of Theodore. A young assistant accompanied Stern. The Scottish Jewish Mission sent the two Chrischona Brethren, Staiger and Brandeis. With one exception all these pioneers were Germans. Martin Flad, tired of being cannoneer-in-chief to the

[1] J. M. Flad, "Zwölf Jahre in Abessinien," 2d ed., Leipsic, 1887.

[2] De le Roi, "Geschichte der Evangelischen Judenmission," Vol. III, pp. 225–245. C. Paul, "Abessinien und die Evangelische Kirche," pp. 72–126.

king, entered the service of the London Society and became the heart and soul of the Falasha Mission.

Close to the north shore of the beautiful Lake Tana, in the province of Dembea, two stations were established, that of the London Society at Kobula near Jada, and that of the Scottish Society at Darua, in the same neighbourhood. Their success among the Falasha was astonishing. On the 21st of July, 1862, occurred the first baptism, of twenty-two persons, followed on the 4th of August by the baptism of fourteen others. In little more than five years there was a company of 212 converts, among whom there were some splendid characters, people who, for the sake of their newly found faith, bravely faced severe persecutions. Prominent among them was the ardent young weaver, Debtera Paulus Beru, who fearlessly confessed the truth before people of high and low degree, and eventually became the leader of the mission. But the storm-clouds were already gathering over Abyssinia. King Theodore was more and more developing a ferocious character. As he had laid his own country waste, so he let his anger loose on the Europeans living in his dominions. All of them, including the Chrischona Brethren, who had worked so hard for him, were thrown into prison, where they languished miserably for years. Only when retribution came in the shape of an English army under Sir Robert Napier, and Theodore's fortress at Magdala was stormed, did relief come to the prisoners. The horrors of Magdala[1] (1867–1868) caused a great commotion, and there was the deepest sympathy with the captives. As the English army left the inhospitable land, all the Europeans in the country, including the missionaries, joined it.

From the political as well as from the missionary point of view, it is only to be regretted that England, which at that time had Abyssinia completely at her mercy, let the country off so easily. The retiring of England meant the death of the Protestant Mission, which has never since fully recovered from that blow. Martin Flad, however, and with him the

[1] "Letters from the Captives in Abyssinia," London, 1865.

London Society, faithfully held fast to the Falasha Mission. No less than eight times after the reign of terror in 1868, he undertook the wearisome and dangerous journey to Abyssinia, to see if the door would not be opened to him, or at any rate to take counsel with the native assistants, to strengthen their courage and to supply them with fresh literature. But, even when he came, in 1873, as the bearer of an official letter from the Queen of England, he received the categorical refusal of the new king, John, to permit any European to reside in his land. So all that could be done was to manage the mission from Europe, as far as it was possible to do so. Flad, in retirement in beautiful Kornthal in Württemberg, translated with untiring diligence one book after another into Amharic, or carefully revised the existing Amharic version of the Bible. And every other year he took a camel-load of newly-printed books to Kassala or Metemeh, on the boundary of Abyssinia. Mission work proper was entirely in the hands of converted Falasha. It is both astonishing and cheering to observe what these simple people have accomplished. Four of them had been prepared for this service in the Chrischona Pilgrims' House near Basle, and they did credit to the training they had received. There were others, also, who worked without any remuneration. Nearly every year accessions and baptisms could be reported. In 1884 the number of converts was between eight and nine hundred. Then a series of storms swept over the tender plant. The Jesuits incited King John to destroy all Protestant books, and any who were found possessing such had to expect severe punishment, even imprisonment. After this the hordes of Mahdist dervishes broke in upon the country and laid it waste as far as Lake Tana and the river Takezze, the very district in which the mission had gained a footing. The terrified inhabitants were compelled to choose between Islam and death. And so it came about that many of the Falasha converts died the martyr's death. In the next following years a fearful famine visited the land, by which 177 of the small band of Falasha Christians were carried away. It is marvellous that, in spite of all these visit-

ations, the little flame of Protestant faith in Abyssinia continued to burn. Unfortunately it has never been possible for European missionaries to make a new and energetic beginning. Suspicion of the entrance of European influences into their country, a suspicion unfortunately only too well justified, makes the Abyssinian kings obstinately resist even mission work.

3. *The Swedish National Mission*

While storms were breaking over Negus Theodore and the Protestant missions, a new mission was begun in the northern Abyssinian mountains, which, though exposed to the severest attacks, and experiencing many disappointments, has been carried on to the present day with invincible determination. The Swedish National Missionary Society was founded in 1861, for evangelistic purposes at home. It soon determined, however, to extend its operations to Abyssinia. The Swedes were advised by Dr. Krapf to begin work among the Galla tribe, which he thought the most promising field for mission work in East Africa. But, after the first missionaries had arrived in Massowa, they took the advice of a Swiss named Munzinger, who knew the country well and went to the *Kunama*, an almost entirely heathen tribe in Northwestern Abyssinia. Here, in the next few years, they established four stations, suffering much in the meantime from sickness and want, but receiving strong reinforcements from Sweden. Tendur was their chief station. But their position was rendered so unsafe by the boundary disputes between Egypt and Abyssinia, that they could not settle here permanently. Consequently, being also faithlessly forsaken by the Kunama themselves, they retired in 1870 to the Red Sea port Massowa. There, in the tropical and unhealthful plain along the coast, they began, with indescribable patience, and constantly contending with disease and death, a work which proved to be both difficult and unremunerative. In Massowa an unpretending school was opened, which was attended exclusively by the children of the poor and of slaves. A hospital was built near the

thermal springs of Ailet, a health resort of the country. In Monkullo, some six miles from Massowa, a boys' school was begun, in which it was hoped that evangelists might be educated for inaccessible Abyssinia. A printing-press was also set up for the production of portions of the Bible and of Protestant literature. In spite of most heroic endeavours, they were not able to penetrate far into the interior of the country. A station which had been begun among the nominally Christian Mensa, up in the mountains to the northwest of Massowa, had to be abandoned. A deputation which was sent to the Negus John, to ask his permission to settle in Abyssinia, was detained by him for two years, only in the end to get the curt reply that he did not want two kinds of Gospel in his country. Three of the natives who had been trained by the missionaries pushed straight across the country to the Galla in the province of Jimma, and commenced a work of evangelization, which has ever since been like "a light that shineth in a dark place." In the face of many disappointments, the brave Swedes continued to send the message home, "Do not abandon Africa."

With the year 1882 a new day dawned for this part of Africa. The Italians founded the colony of Eritrea on the shore of the Red Sea, and, though their intention to subdue the whole of Abyssinia was frustrated by the bravery of the native army, and Eritrea was for ten years in a disturbed state while the war surged to and fro, yet finally order was restored under the Italian flag, and the Swedes were thus enabled to push forward. By degrees they occupied four mountain districts, first of all the province of Hamasen to the west of Massowa, where, in 1891, 1892 and 1908, they established four stations, in Asmara, the capital of Italian Eritrea, and in the neighbouring towns, Bellesa, Zazega, and Adi-Ugri. In this neighbourhood the main part of the Swedish work is done. The inhabitants have for ages been members of the Monophysite Abyssinian Church. They have, perhaps, been even more neglected by the Church, and are consequently more ignorant than those living to the south, where the ancient monasteries, the seats of scholastic learning, are situated.

Originally it was as little the intention of the Swedes to proselytize, and to form congregations, as it was that of most of the other Protestant missions among the ancient Churches. Nevertheless, this has been rendered necessary by the opposition and the persecuting spirit of the native ecclesiastical authorities. In 1907 the congregations contained 1,061 members, of whom 452 were communicants. In some villages, especially in Shuma Negus, the Gospel has become a power among the people.

In connection with the Swedes there is a man, highly respected for his learning, at work further south in Amhara and Shoa, the central provinces of Abyssinia. This is Debra Mariam Tayeleny, a man of extraordinary parts, who has been successful in representing the claims of Protestantism before the Negus Menelik and the highest government and church authorities.

In comparison with this "Abyssinian" mission, the so-called "*Tigré*" branch of the Swedish mission work is less prominent, embracing now, as it does, only outposts in the low-lying torrid plain of Massowa (especially at Monkullo) and at Geleb in the district of Mensa, where the inhabitants, a savage, stolid tribe of hardly 8,000 souls, are nominally Christian, but have been slowly yet surely falling away to Islam. The Swedes have also renewed their work in their first field among the Kunama tribe; there they have established a station in Kulluko, and are engaged in building a second, in Auso Konoma. They have also translated the Gospels into the language of the country. But thus far no success can be reported.

We have already mentioned that, through the recommendation of Dr. Krapf, the Swedes originally intended their mission to be for the benefit of the Galla. The people of this Hamitic race, scattered over a large portion of Africa, are well grown men of a warlike disposition, apparently also of mental talent, and are not without political unity, though split up into numerous nomadic hordes. Some of them in the north have, under Abyssinian influence, embraced Christianity, though a far larger number have been converted to Islam. The tribes

in the south and southwest have so strong a strain of negro blood, through intermarriage, that they are gradually taking on negro characteristics. There are, perhaps, three and a half million of them altogether. With their northern tenacity the Swedes kept their eyes upon this people. The first despatch of three native evangelists and their operations in Jimma, a southern province of Abyssinia, have been already mentioned. The first advance, the journey of the missionary Arrhenius and his caravan, by way of Khartum, up the Blue Nile to Famaka, on the border of Egypt, in 1882, was a failure, owing to the treachery of Marno, the Austrian consul in Famaka, who led the missionaries and the natives astray by giving them wrong information, so that nearly half of a caravan company died in the fatal climate. In 1885 the Rev. N. Hylander made another attempt, taking the new road that runs along the coast from Zeile (Sela) to Harar. But he, too, had to leave the country after a stay of twenty months, presumably owing to Romish intrigues. It is only since the beginning of the twentieth century that two really passable roads appear to have been opened. The Rev. K. Cederquist has, with the help of the intelligent Ras Makonnen, settled down in Adis Abeba, whence he makes evangelistic tours among Abyssinians and Galla. He has as assistant a converted Galla, named Onesimus, whose sphere of work is inland at Nakamte. He is one of the most remarkable men in the history of the Swedish Mission. A Galla boy of good family, he was kidnapped, passed from hand to hand as a slave, and came at last to Massowa, where he became acquainted with the Swedish missionaries. From them he received instruction, and was their first convert, being baptized in 1872. As the youth showed talent, the missionaries paid great attention to his education, finally sending him to Sweden. He became, along with Tayeleny, the most valuable assistant the missionaries had, either as a teacher in their schools or as a language expert in the work of translating into the Galla tongue. With his help the whole of the New Testament was thus translated. Latterly he has been doing pioneer work among his own tribe, in which, however,

he meets with much opposition and animosity on the part of the Abyssinian priesthood.

After the English had occupied the Somali Coast, the Swedes approached the Galla up the Juba. Their main station is at Kismayu on the coast, while out-stations have been established in Yonti and Mofi further up the stream. But the work has been much hindered by the disturbed state of the country, caused by the predatory attacks of hordes of Somali and Galla, among whom Islam has been making great progress. Latterly, also, there has arisen a Mahdi, the "Mad Mollah." Some of the English officials, too, have opposed the work of the missionaries. Still, there have been a few baptisms. The Swedes have not been so fortunate as their predecessors in getting into the country and gaining the hearts of the inhabitants. They have only touched the fringe of both the Abyssinian and the Galla population. In Abyssinia the door was shut by the influence of the ambitious Roman Catholic missionaries, and by the determination of the kings to maintain Abyssinian independence at all costs. And Dr. Krapf's expectation that the Galla would offer a promising field for mission work was not fulfilled, in spite of all the labour bestowed upon them by the Swedes. The work was thus a hard training in patience, a long sowing in hope of a harvest. Yet the Swedes remained at their post, while earlier missions were swept out of the country by political unrest and religious intrigue.

VII

MISSIONS AMONG THE JEWS. THE WORK OF THE BIBLE SOCIETIES

THUS far two Protestant undertakings that have covered the entire field in the Near East have been left almost unnoticed, missions among the Jews and the work of the Bible societies. It seemed best to present these undertakings in a general review, rather than in connection with the individual countries.

(*A*) *Missions Among the Jews*

As a rule missions among Jews and missions among Gentiles pursue diverse paths. They differ so widely in their methods of work, in the training which members of the mission must receive, and in the immediate ends at which they aim, that it is impossible to unite the two kinds of mission work in one place and in the hands of the same people. The Near East seemed to be an exception to this rule. Here, where the chosen people were so thoroughly scattered among the native population, with which the missions were primarily concerned, it seemed possible to bring them the message of the Gospel through the same agencies through which it was brought to the Gentiles. Several of the great societies, accordingly, in addition to their main undertaking, carried on work among the Jews, especially the American Board, the United Presbyterians in Egypt, and the Irish Presbyterians in Damascus. Remarkable to say, the combination has proved to be quite impracticable. Apart from the limited operations of the Irish in Damascus, mission work among the Jews has been handed over to special Jewish missionary societies. Thus there is the strange spectacle of different missionary organizations working side by side in the Near East, some for Jews, some for Gentiles.

It is hard to say how many Jews there are in the Near East. It is computed that there are 110,000 of them in European Turkey, the majority of whom live in Constantinople and Salonica. For, when Ferdinand of Castile drove the Jews from Spain in 1492, and when the Jews were exiled from Portugal in 1497, the greater part of them fled to Constantinople, and settled there or in the neighbourhood. They still retain, in common use, the Spanish language of the fifteenth century, strongly intermixed with Hebrew idioms. They go by the name of Sephardim. In Asia Minor and Armenia there are probably not more than 100,000 Jews, the largest colony of them being in Smyrna. In Syria there are said to be from fifty to seventy thousand Jews, mostly in Beirut and Damascus. In Palestine they themselves compute their number as 87,000. The official census of Egypt in 1897 gave 25,200 Jews in that country. The estimated number of Falasha in Abyssinia is 200,000; this figure is too high. Bagdad contains a Jewish colony numbering from eight to ten thousand. In Persia there are Jewish colonies, especially in Hamadan and its neighbourhood, and also in Teheran and Tabriz, numbering altogether 80,000.[1] Here they have been cruelly persecuted from the earliest times to the present day. According to the *Annuaire des archives Israélites* (1892), not more than 310,000 Jews live in Asia.

Only in Palestine are the Jews to-day occupied in farming and fruit-raising, whether in ancient Jewish centres like Safed, or in the modern Jewish colonies. Elsewhere they mostly live huddled together in narrow filthy Ghettos, and, although the majority of them are in an ignorant, superstitious and poverty-stricken condition, certain of their number have ever by their commercial cleverness and by usury amassed princely fortunes. The Sephardim from Spain and Portugal form the main stock of Jews in the Near East, their language being a corruption of Hebrew-Spanish. Yet, particularly since the middle of the nineteenth century, an ever-increasing number

[1] Formerly only 20,000. Cf. De le Roi, "Geschichte der Judenmission," Vol. III, p. 208. On the other hand, cf. "The Bible in the World," 1905, p. 229.

of the Ashkenazim from Poland and Southern Russia have been immigrating, so that they now number more than the Spanish Jews. Their language is mostly Yiddish. On account of their poverty and their filthy habits they are looked down upon as plebeian by the Sephardim, who regard themselves as patricians. Within the last twenty years there has also been a considerable immigration of Jews from other European countries, particularly from Germany, thus adding to the patchwork character of Jewish language and habits in the Near East. According to the general practice of the Turkish Empire, the Jews, as a distinct religious body, are allowed to manage their own concerns. They elect from amongst their number two superiors, the *khakhams*, one of whom is chosen from the foremost rabbis in Constantinople, the other from the chief rabbis in Jerusalem.

This patriarchal organization, mostly under orthodox Talmudic rule, has been a great obstacle to the work of the missions. It placed in the hands of these authorities, sanctioned by the state, far-reaching powers, which were inconsiderately employed to suppress Christianity and all inclination to listen to the missionaries. As such persecution was made the easier by fanatical public opinion, those of the same household being often the foremost in casting out and ill using converts, and the latter being deprived of the means of existence by a strict boycott, missions among the Jews in the Near East have generally involved suffering. A further hindrance was the fact that by far the greater number of converts had to leave their homes, and thus the formation of congregations was almost impossible. Then again, since, in many cases, the Jewish missionary societies did not sufficiently exert themselves, in the face of undoubtedly great difficulties, to amalgamate their little bands of Jewish converts with the larger Protestant congregations, these tiny companies took no root. On the other hand, there was danger that the mission should become to the Jews, who were for the most part poor, a mere opportunity for gain, since joining the Christian Church was likely to secure to the converts an easy life, and to their children,

who were eager to be educated, high and lucrative positions; for the missionaries, with their societies behind them, obviously had it in their power to be exceedingly rich benefactors.

Methods of conducting missions among the Jews do not vary greatly throughout the Near East. The first preparatory step is the distribution of Christian literature in the dialects spoken by Jews from Spain, Poland and Germany. The Old and New Testaments, which have been repeatedly translated and revised, occupy the first place. Of the books specially written for these missions, McCaul's "True Israelite" deserves to be particularly mentioned. Then, in order to gain the confidence and affection of the suspicious and proud Jews, medical mission work was soon commenced among them. There are now hospitals and dispensaries, chiefly in Palestine, but also in the large towns of Asia Minor and European Turkey, which are meant in the first instance for Jews. The third preparatory method, that of establishing schools, was everywhere difficult, and demanded much patience on the part of the missionaries. If the Jews were otherwise taught at all, it was only the Talmud and a little reading and writing. They had such a dislike for regular schools that, as late as 1881, an attempt made by the "Israelite Alliance" to establish in Jerusalem a school along modern lines altogether failed. For this reason the missionaries, especially those from Scotland, hit upon the plan of admitting Christian children into their schools, in order, for one thing, thus to insure the further existence of the schools, and, further, to arouse a spirit of emulation in the apathetic Jewish children. The missions of the Established Church of Scotland have a boys' school and a girls' school in Alexandria, the former having 103 Jewish boys in a total attendance of 260, and the latter 167 Jewish girls out of 233. These mixed schools have done well.

The main object of all the missions is to win individual Jews, to succeed in which object optimism and wise reserve are equally necessary, and one must be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves." The more the national factor can be eliminated, the better. Certainly Jewish missions must have

the hope set before them of a Christian Israel, but any tribute paid to the deep-rooted Jewish pride of race and religion is attended by evil results. Whenever there has been any coquetting with national ideals, mischief has come of it, even when it was done by so ardent a progressive as the convert Z. H. Friedlaender, in the Holy Land from 1873 to 1886. De le Roi says, in his "Geschichte der evangelischen Judenmission," Vol. III, p. 193, that the object of such missions must be, and remain, the leading of individuals to Jesus. If more is attempted, neither the one thing nor the other is attained.

Subsidiary to the main undertaking there are other agencies at work, especially of an industrial nature, partly in order to enable the converts, who have lost all by their change of religion, to earn a living by honest labour, and partly to accustom those who had up to that time lived by begging to earn their own bread in the sweat of their brow. The best organized and most successful of such institutions is the Industrial Home in Jerusalem, upon which Miss Jane Cook of Cheltenham bestowed £700 for the purchase of a site, £10,000 for the buildings and £2,000 for the maintenance of the workers. This is presumably the largest single gift Jewish missions in the Near East have received. Unfortunately there has been little success in training converts to be catechists, not one of the societies having among their converts students enough to maintain a training-school, apart from the difficulty arising from the variety of dialects spoken by the people. Nor have the missions thus far combined in a common undertaking of the kind. The London Jewish Mission opened a "Mission College" for this purpose in Jerusalem about the middle of the nineteenth century, but was not able to maintain it.

The main stations in *Turkey in Europe*[1] are Constantinople and Salonica. In the former place the American Board laboured from 1831 to 1855, in addition to its extensive work

[1] We omit all mention of a considerable number of unsuccessful attempts. It is well known that failure and disappointment have been but too common in connection with work among Jews in the Near East.

among the Armenians. In 1842 the energetic mission of the Free Church in Scotland began to work there, conducting, in addition to its two schools, attended by 500 pupils, two-thirds of whom are girls, a mission hospital and a home for destitute girls. Their work took an upward bound in 1873, when, under an energetic missionary, the Rev. A. Tomory, large, new premises were occupied. Special excitement was aroused by the conversion of Eliezer Bassin, one of the most striking conversions of the present day. Burning with zeal for his Talmudic theology, he had set out from his home in Mohilev in Russia, in order to argue with the Christian converts in Constantinople, and to lead them back to the faith of their fathers. But D. Landsmann, one of the converts, had the better of the encounter, and, after long and vigorous disputations, convinced him of the truth of Christianity. Since 1859 the Established Church of Scotland, like the Free Church, has had a flourishing girls' school and a medical mission among the Jews of Constantinople. The work of the Established Church there began when the American Board, upon abandoning its work among the Jews, requested this Church to take it up. The great London Jewish Society also had work in Constantinople intermittently, beginning in 1826, and has maintained its work there permanently since 1851. It has had effective agents, especially in the converts, C. S. Newman (1856–1881) and J. B. Creighton-Ginsberg (since 1885). The former distinguished himself by his careful attention to the Jewish schools, and perhaps still more by his conduct of some difficult legal matters, thus securing the legal status of the converts and checking the arbitrary actions of the rabbis. Whether it is wise for three societies to work in so limited a field is doubtful. It may be added that Ginsberg, in 1899, knew of only forty-five converts in the three societies together.

Wilhelm Gottlieb Schauffler was by far the most important missionary among the Jews in Constantinople, in fact one of the most distinguished missionaries in the Near East generally. Born on the 28th of August, 1798, in Stuttgart, he emigrated as a child with his father to Odessa. After a defective edu-

cation, but with an extraordinary gift for acquiring languages, he became acquainted in Smyrna with the American Board missionary, Jonas King, who induced him to enter the renowned Andover Theological Seminary in the United States, where, in a five years' stay, characterized by indefatigable industry, he acquired a thorough theological and linguistic training. In 1831 the American Board sent him to Constantinople as a missionary to the Jews of the Balkan Peninsula, and there, amid many privations, he did a great work among the Sephardim, his activity extending to Vienna, Buda-Pest, and Odessa. He so thoroughly mastered Spanish and Spanish-Hebrew that, up to the time of his death, he wrote indefatigably in both of those languages. At the time when the Board abandoned its Jewish mission in 1885, it seemed as if "a great door and effectual" was being opened for work among the Turks in connection with the Crimean War, which was then raging, and Schauffler, at his own request, was appointed leader of a Turkish mission in Constantinople, which was carried on independently of the Armenian Mission. But when, to Schauffler's great sorrow, the Turkish Mission was also given up a few years later, he left the service of the American Board and devoted himself, in connection with the British and American Bible Societies, to linguistic labours, one of the chief of which was an important translation of the Bible into classical (Osmanli) Turkish which, however, on account of its elevated literary style, was only partially published. The results of his studies were so highly appreciated that the University of Halle conferred the title of D. D. upon him. After a service of fifty years in Constantinople, he retired from the work and made New York his home, dying there on the 26th of January, 1883, at the age of eighty-four.

In Salonica, where, according to the report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for 1907, there is a colony of 80,000 Jews, the Established Church of Scotland has the chief work, having entered upon this difficult field in 1866. Its activity extends as far as Monastir and Cassandra, which are substations of the mission. There is a small Protestant congre-

gation in Salonica, and a flourishing girls' school. Adrianople is a station of the London Jewish Society.

There is only one fully manned station for work among the Jews in *Asia Minor*, namely, Smyrna; and here the Established Church of Scotland and the London Jewish Mission work side by side. The former began work in 1856; the latter came in 1829, and, after some interruptions, has been steadily and permanently at work since 1860. At the head of the Scottish Mission was Abraham Ben Oliel, a talented but unstable man, who has been in the service of the most diverse societies. Flourishing schools and a hospital are the backbone of the Scottish work. The chief missionary of the London Jewish Mission in Smyrna was J. M. Eppstein (1866–1885), a faithful man, who by his medical skill found entrance among the people.

In *Syria*, exclusive of Palestine,[1] there are only two centres of work among the Jews which deserve special mention. The Jewish Mission of the Established Church of Scotland occupied Beirut conjointly with the Presbyterian Church of Canada, in 1862, and there flourishing schools have been established. In Damascus the Irish Presbyterians devote themselves to the Jews, in addition to their work among Oriental Christians, but do not seem to have met with much success. Here, too, the London Jewish Mission has been working since 1869, with great persistency, yet with little success, since the few converts cannot remain in Damascus.

The only place in *Egypt* that has any importance for an account of Jewish missions is Alexandria, with its more than 10,000 Jews. The first society in this field was the Glasgow Scottish Mission to the Jews. They recalled their medical missionary, Dr. Philip, in 1857, and the Established Church of Scotland took over the work in 1858. It was fortunate for them that the Viceroy Said, who was a generous friend of mission work, presented them in 1861 with a large site, on which they were able to erect mission buildings. There, as

[1] For an account of missionary work among the Jews of Palestine, see Chap. IV, B.

in other stations of the Established Church of Scotland, the main part of the work lies in the schools, in which as many Christian children as possible are gathered in addition to Jewish children. Cairo was a station of the London Jewish Society from 1847 to 1867, and Alexandria from 1871 to 1874. But both these stations have been since then abandoned.

Among the eight or ten thousand Jews in *Bagdad*, some of whom are the richest merchants of this ancient city of the khalifs, the London Jewish Society laboured from 1844 to 1866. But it neither succeeded in finding maintenance for its few converts, nor in laying the foundation of a strong Protestant congregation. And as coöperation with other existing churches was found to be impossible, the thankless task was abandoned.

In *Persia* the missionaries of the London Jewish Society, starting from Bagdad, made missionary tours, especially to Hamadan, distributing Bibles and Protestant literature. Surprising success attended this work. In 1875 Ezekiel Khayim, the son of one of the richest and most respected Jews, and the physician Dr. Aghajan came to the knowledge of Jesus as the promised Messiah by reading the Bible. A small but select company of like-minded men joined them. The cruel persecutions which they suffered at the hands of the Jews only made them cleave the faster to their faith. After some of them had been baptized in 1878 by American missionaries, who itinerated in that region, the London Jewish Society sent them a missionary, J. Lotka, in 1881. But the persecutions were so violent that Lotka thought it prudent to leave the country in 1884. At this juncture the Persian Jew Nurallah, who had taken a theological education in London, with a view to becoming a preacher among his own people, was commissioned to care for the small but faithful company of converts. The American missionaries who had maintained a station in Hamadan since 1881, also faithfully looked after the converts who were hungering for the truth, building them a Christian synagogue, opening a school for Jewish girls, and receiving the converts into their community. With the tenacity

peculiar to orientals, who hold fast to the traditional script, though they have forgotten the ancient language itself, the Persian Jews read the Persian language written in Hebrew characters. The British and Foreign Bible Society has therefore specially prepared for them an edition of the Bible in Persian, but in Hebrew type. The Jewish colonies in other Persian towns, such as Teheran, Urumiah and Souchbulak, have also been cared for, chiefly by the American Presbyterian Mission and the London Jewish Society. The favourite plan has been to establish schools for Jewish children, in spite of the opposition offered by the Persian authorities. Conversions have been few, and are always accompanied by much persecution (*Missionary Review*, 1895, pp. 837 ff.).

(*B*) *The Work of the Bible Societies*

(1) *Translations of the Bible.* We have already several times referred to translations of the Bible into the native languages of the Near East, undertaken by the various missionary societies. But this work is of such importance that it deserves to be considered in detail. It forms a bright chapter in the history of Protestant missions. Not one of these Oriental Churches possessed a Bible in the generally understood language of the country, and yet it was absolutely necessary that such Bibles should be provided, if the people were to be religiously enlightened. Protestant missions have made the Word of God accessible to the common people. An impartial criticism of Christianity was rendered very difficult to a Muhammadan on account of the century-long contempt with which he had proudly looked down upon Christians. The first step in mission work among Muhammadans was, therefore, to find a common meeting-ground for both religions. On the authority of the Koran, Moslems are compelled to recognize the Bible as the Word of God. For this reason the pioneer missionary work among Muhammadans consists in the distribution of the Bible and in an introduction to its study. Jews, it has been found, can be convinced that Jesus was the Messiah only by proving from the Old Testament that this is

true. And only by diligent searching of the Scriptures can this conviction be gained. Thus the translation of the Bible is in a special way throughout the Near East the foundation of missionary work among Oriental Christians, Muhammadans and Jews alike. We will review (*a*) translations of the Bible into Muhammadan languages, and (*b*) translations into the languages of the Oriental Churches.

(*a*) *Translations into Muhammadan languages.* Three languages are here involved, Turkish, Arabic and Persian. In Turkish the predominant dialect is *Osmanli Turkish.* Into this dialect a great part of the Bible was translated by a court official, Ali Bey, a Polish renegade, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad IV, 1648–1687. The manuscript lay, however, in the Leyden library until it was at length printed in 1819 in a completed, revised and considerably improved form. Yet it was still of too elementary and faulty a character to be even moderately useful. The talented linguist, Dr. W. G. Schauffler, accordingly undertook the difficult task of producing an entirely new translation, which was printed in parts in New York between the years 1867 and 1873. But even this translation did not fully come up to expectation, because it was written in classical Turkish and was therefore unintelligible to the common people. Consequently there have since been two revision committees, which met in 1878 and 1887, consisting chiefly of Dr. Riggs, Herrick, Weakley and H. O. Dwight, with a native linguist, for the purpose of perfecting and even, in some parts, rewriting Schauffler's translation. These revised editions are excellent. Osmanli Turkish has spread so far that in Asia Minor it has to some extent taken the place of Greek in the Orthodox Church, and of Armenian in the Gregorian Church; and mixed dialects, Græco-Turkish and Armeno-Turkish have been formed, which are, however, written respectively in Greek and Armenian characters, and not in the Arabic characters of Osmanli Turkish. The missions have adopted both these dialects. The New Testament was translated into *Armeno-Turkish* in 1815 by two learned Armenians, and the translation was printed in 1819 in St. Peters-

burg. It was subjected to a revision by the Rev. H. D. Leeves of the British and Foreign Bible Society. But as it was not yet adequate, Dr. Goodell made a completely new translation of the whole Bible, the New Testament being published in 1831 and the Old Testament in 1841. Thoroughly revised versions of this translation appeared in 1858 and 1863.

William Goodell (1792–1867) was one of the industrious missionaries of the American Board, whose translations of the Bible deserve great praise. In 1823, during the turmoil of the Greek War of Liberation, he was sent to Beirut, where he at once devoted himself to the study of the Armeno-Turkish dialect. He was removed to Constantinople in 1831 to enter the Armenian Mission, which had just been begun, and in this mission he remained thirty-four years until 1865, that critical period in the history of the mission.[1]

The British and Foreign Bible Society published the New Testament in *Græco-Turkish* in 1865, the translation being subsequently revised by one of the society's missionaries, the Rev. H. D. Leeves. The next step was to rewrite and reprint Goodell's Armeno-Turkish translation in Greek letters. But as even this did not prove satisfactory, the society commissioned the two natives, Rev. G. Casakos and Rev. A. Asadurian, to prepare what was to be practically a totally new translation (1884). But during all this work of revision, the conviction dawned upon the missionaries that, since all the three dialects are fundamentally very closely related to one another, it ought to be possible to produce one common translation, though printed in the three different types, Arabic, Greek and Armenian. With this in view a new revision committee sat from 1883 to 1887, and its labours seem to have been successful. This example, however, shows to what expenditure of labour and money the British and American Bible Societies, in combination with the various missionary societies, went, in order to produce as perfect as possible a translation into an important language.

[1] "Memoirs of Rev. Wm. Goodell, D. D.," by Ed. G. Prime, D. D., 8th ed., Boston, 1891.

Another dialect of the Turkish language is spoken in Transcaucasia, which, as it is mostly used in Azerbaijan in Northwestern Persia, is called *Azerbaijani*. A translation of the New Testament into this language, made by the Basle missionaries, Zaremba and Pfander, with the help of their faithful assistant, Mirza Farukh, continued to be printed either in part or entire until 1875. Mirza Farukh himself later made another translation of almost the entire Bible, but the manuscript lay neglected till his son, Abraham Amirkhanyanz, found it forty years later, completed it, and, with the help of the British Bible Society, published it in 1878. Meanwhile Dr. Benjamin Labaree had begun an independent translation. After Dr. Labaree had published several books of the Bible in his translation, they wisely agreed to unite forces. Their translation was completed and printed in 1893. One of the Gospels of this translation is even printed in Hebrew type for the Jews living in the province. It does not lie within the scope of this book to give a detailed account of translations into the Turkish dialects of Kashgar, Dsagatai, Kirghiz, Kumuk, Usbeg and Yakut.

Translations of the Gospels and of the Pentateuch into *Persian* had come down from the Middle Ages, but they were very defective. Early in the nineteenth century various Anglo-Indians made attempts at the translation of the Bible into that language, because of its importance for Northern India; among these attempts may be mentioned those of Colonel Colebrooke in 1804, and of Rev. L. Sebastiani in 1812. Then Henry Martyn set himself to the important task. His first hasty translation of the New Testament satisfied him so ill that he went to Shiraz in 1811, and there, with the help of Persian scholars, produced a translation which was repeatedly printed, in Calcutta and St. Petersburg (1816), in London (1837), and in Edinburgh (1847). To complete this work, the Old Testament was translated by the Scottish missionary, Dr. William Glen in Astrakhan (1826), and, independently, by Archdeacon Robinson, in Calcutta. Both these translations were printed, but they stood in sore need of revision.

So Dr. R. Bruce, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and a man of great linguistic talent, undertook a thorough revision of the entire Bible in Persian, beginning this work in 1871. The new edition was printed under his direction, in Leipsic, in 1895, at the cost of the British Bible Society.

More important for the world of Islam than either Turkish or Persian is *Arabic*, the language of the Koran, and of Moslem culture and learning, upon which, accordingly, a corresponding measure of devoted toil has been expended. The translation made by John of Seville (750), and the translations printed in Rome in the years 1591 and 1671, were imperfect, at times painfully literal, translations from the Vulgate. The earliest Protestant translations were the translation made by Erpenius in Leyden in 1616, the translation which appeared in Walton's Polyglot Bible in 1657, and the translation of Professor Lee, the linguist of the Church Missionary Society. These translations were still faulty, yet, in the absence of a better, they were repeatedly published. At last, however, two highly talented American missionaries in Beirut, Dr. Eli Smith (died 11th of January, 1857), and Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, made it one of the chief undertakings of their lives to produce a standard Arabic translation of the Bible. The New Testament appeared in 1860, the Old in 1864, and the entire Bible in 1865. Even after this Dr. Van Dyck never grew weary of improving and polishing the translation. It is regarded as a classical work, and has superseded all other translations, at least in the Protestant world. It is issued in thirty-seven different forms by the American and the British Bible Societies. Parts of it are printed in Syrian letters (Karshun), and in Hebrew letters for the Jews. Even an edition for the blind is published, the Old Testament in the Moon script, the New in Braille.

The language of the *Kurds* is of less importance compared with the chief Moslem languages, yet a translation of the Bible is more difficult, both because the language is split up into many dialects and because the Kurds, for want of a script of their own, use Arabic characters in some districts and

Armenian in others. In 1827 Shevris, the Armenian bishop in Tabriz, translated a portion of the Bible into Hakkiari, a dialect of the Kurdish, and the Basle missionaries of Shusha revised the translation. Yet it was not widely intelligible. Since then three different parties have undertaken translations, the American Board, through Dr. Andrus and Dr. Barton of Mardin, in Armenian characters, while the Anglican missionary, St. Clair Tisdall of Ispahan, and the German missionary, Pastor Detlev von Oertzen in Souchbulak, have made independent translations in Arabic characters. Some of the books of the Bible have appeared in all three of these translations. It is, however, desirable that these three parties should combine their efforts.

(*b*) *The Oriental Churches* were first provided by the Protestant missions with Bibles in their own ancient sacred languages. Even in the Churches Bibles had been scarce, since they had to be laboriously copied by hand, and consequently private persons and even some of the priests could hardly afford to acquire copies. Therefore a large issue in print was required. Theologians and philologists have given much assistance in the work, a share of the cost being borne by the Bible societies. Thus editions in *Ancient Armenian* appeared in 1817 in Calcutta and St. Petersburg; the British and Foreign Bible Society published a large edition of the New Testament and Psalms; and the American Bible Society printed in 1838 the entire Bible, which was subsequently thoroughly revised by a committee of experts (1896). A *Koptic* edition of the New Testament was published in 1847 by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, after the British and Foreign Bible Society had printed the Gospels in 1829. In *Ethiopian* (the ancient Geez) the British and Foreign Bible Society issued the New Testament in 1830, and there has lately appeared a revised edition, done under the supervision of Professor Prætorius of Halle.

Of far greater importance are the endeavours of the missions to supply these Churches with the Bible in the living languages, understood by the common people. This has been an integral

part, to some extent even the basis, of their work of evangelization. In *Modern Armenian* Dr. Zohrab of Constantinople, himself an Armenian, made a beginning with a useful translation of the New Testament, which was published first in 1825 and has been repeatedly revised by the American missionaries since, the British and Foreign Bible Society doing the printing. The translation of the Old Testament was begun in 1840 by Dr. Elias Riggs, with the assistance of his colleague, Adger, at first. The complete Bible appeared in 1852. Up to his death Riggs continued to improve his work, which is considered by experts to be an excellent translation; the Bible societies of America and Great Britain have combined to publish it. "*Ararat Armenian*" is a dialect which varies considerably from the other, and is spoken in Russian Caucasia and Northern Persia. Into it the Basle missionaries, especially A. H. Diettrich, translated the New Testament in 1834, the translation being repeatedly issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society until 1879, when it was thoroughly revised by Abraham Amirkhanyanz, who translated also the Old Testament. The complete Bible appeared in this dialect in 1882, the British and Foreign Bible Society publishing it in Constantinople.

The highest praise is due to the American missionary, Dr. Justin Perkins, for devoting many years of his life to producing a useful translation of the Bible into *Modern Syriac*. The first edition of the New Testament appeared in 1846, to be followed by the Old Testament in 1852, both editions having the Ancient Syriac and the Modern Syriac in columns side by side, though later editions contained only the latter. After Perkins' death, Dr. Labaree undertook a diligent and thorough revision. While the Urumiah dialect had been the basis of former translations, Dr. Labaree borrowed from the purer and more widely used dialects of the mountains, making use of the help of educated Syrians such as Professor Yoshana and Professor Baba. This new translation appeared in an attractive edition in New York, in 1893.

Great difficulties were connected with the production of a

Bulgarian version, since there are so many dialects, the chief of which are *Western* and *Eastern* Bulgarian. Under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society many attempts were made between the years 1820 and 1858, and the Society published parts of translations made by the Bulgarian clergyman Theodosius in 1822, by Sapunoff in 1827, by Barker of Smyrna in 1836–1840, and by Photinoff in 1858. The linguistic difficulties were only overcome when the talented American missionary, Elias Riggs, in collaboration with Dr. A. Long of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, succeeded in forming a modern Bulgarian language which proved intelligible to and popular with the whole nation. This translation was used from 1859 to 1864, when it was revised, Riggs himself working at it until the hour of his death on the 17th of January, 1901. It has supplanted all the other translations, and is considered an excellent piece of work.

The *Albanian* language has also two essentially different dialects, the Northern or *Gheg* and the Southern or *Tosk*. Although Protestant missionaries did not begin to work here till late, and have made little headway among this ancient Christian people, yet the British and Foreign Bible Society began in 1819 to make great and continued exertions to produce the New Testament in both these dialects, entrusting the work of translation to native Albanians under the supervision of their representative in Constantinople. The work of printing was rendered difficult in this case also by the confusion of alphabets. At length it was decided to use Roman characters throughout. Translations of the New Testament into the Southern dialect appeared in 1825 and 1827, by Evangelos Mexicos, in 1879, by Christoforides, and, later, by Gerasius Kyrios; and into the Northern dialect since 1866 in Constantinople.

For the *Spanish Jews* of the Near East there already existed a useful translation of the Bible, the so-called Ferrara Bible, which was published repeatedly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whole or in parts. The revision of this version is the meritorious work of Dr. W. G. Schauffler of the

American Board and the Scottish missionaries, Dr. J. Christie and Rev. D. B. Spence.

Of the living languages of Abyssinia the first used in Bible translation was the widely spread *Amharic*, much of the Bible having been translated into this tongue by the monk Abu Ruchi. His work was continued by the missionaries Isenberg and Kugler, the whole being revised by Dr. Krapf, and issued from 1844 to 1879, at the expense of the Bible Society. A second edition, revised by Dr. Krapf, M. Flad and J. Meyer, was printed in the St. Chrischona Mission House in 1888. A translation of the four Gospels into *Tigré*, one of the Northern dialects (the other being called Tigriña) was made by Isenberg, Kugler and Dr. Krapf (published in 1865), and the Gospel according to St. Mark was translated by Swedish missionaries in Monkullo. The New Testament was translated into *Tigriña* by Swedish missionaries, especially the physician Dr. Winquist. This work is being gradually published by the Swedish Mission Press in Asmara. Some of the Gospels have been translated into other dialects of the country, into *Bogos* (Bilin), into the *Falasha* dialect of the Agau (Professor Rheinish of Vienna), into *Kunama* (the Swedish missionaries). There are also a goodly number of translations into the *Galla* dialects; in Northern Galla the entire Bible, translated by the native, Onesimus, was printed in 1899 in the St. Chrischona Mission House. In the *Shoa* tongue the whole of the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament were translated by Dr. Krapf and printed in 1872. In the *Itta* dialect a translation of St. Matthew was made by a Galla youth, Hailu. In the *Bararetta* dialect, St. John's Gospel was translated by the Methodist missionary, Wakefield, and printed in 1890. Considerable portions of an ancient ecclesiastical translation of the Bible in the *Nuba* tongue have recently been discovered. Prof. R. Lepsius has translated at least one Gospel into *Fadidja*, the present language of the Berbers to the south of Assuan; the translation is printed in the "standard alphabet." In 1885 it was printed in Arabic type for use among the Beduins.

(2) On this immense task of translating and printing the

Word of God accurately and intelligibly in the numerous languages and dialects of Western Asia, the missions and Bible societies have spent an enormous amount of labour and money. For some decades they received considerable assistance from the Russian Bible Society, founded by the Czar, Alexander I, and from the Ionian Bible Society in Corfu. But both of these societies were dissolved and the burden fell upon the shoulders of the British and the American Bible Societies, which were assisted to a limited extent by the Scottish National Bible Society, in Salonica, Tiberias, Safed, Aleppo and Beirut. Equally difficult was the other great task of *distributing the Bible.* Here the two great societies divided the work, the British and Foreign Bible Society leaving the American Bible Society those districts in which the American missionaries, especially those of the American Board, labour exclusively or preponderatingly, such as Turkey in Europe (the greater part), Asia Minor, the northern half of Persia, Syria and Upper Egypt, while its own extensive operations comprise three "agencies," one in Turkey, with its chief depot in Constantinople, another in Egypt, with its headquarters in Alexandria, and the third in Persia, having its main station in Ispahan. As far as possible the distribution of the Bible is carried on in connection with the missionary societies, which take large stocks of Bibles and portions of the Bible, these being distributed by colporteurs, Bible-readers and Bible-women, who are partly supported by the Bible Society. But in addition to these, some Bible societies, especially the British and Foreign Bible Society, employ their own colporteurs, who work in the great commercial centres, especially in the polyglot harbours of Port Said and Constantinople, where the nations of the world meet. In Port Said there is an annual sale of from fifteen to eighteen thousand Bibles and portions of the Bible, in from sixty to seventy languages. Perhaps even more important is the work of the colporteurs in penetrating to places where there are either few or no missionaries, as for instance in Albania, the Egyptian Sudan, Eastern Persia and Northern and Eastern Arabia.

Generally speaking, Bible distribution is possible in the whole of the Near East, if it be not resisted by the fanatical opposition of Muhammadans, Jews and, sometimes, even of Christians, especially of Christian priests, to the Christian or "Protestant" Bible.

In Turkey, to be sure, there was the petty and annoying censorship to be faced. Such geographical names as "Macedonia" and "Armenia" were not permitted to be published, and had, therefore, to be avoided as far as possible in Bibles issued in the Ottoman Empire. Maps on which such names occurred were torn out. Even the Epistle to the Galatians roused suspicion on account of the similarity of the name "Galatia" to Galata, the name of a quarter of the city of Stamboul, and it even happened that prudent censors demanded the production of St. Paul's death-certificate to prove that his Epistle to the Galatians is not a revolutionary article aimed at the Sultan. The censorship, also, through the law that any books introduced into Turkey, or any edition produced there, has to be passed by the censor, offered a welcome opportunity to malicious officials to keep back such books as did not please them for months and years. It was also inconvenient that in the parts of Turkey which are inhabited almost exclusively by Muhammadans, the authorities refused licenses to the colporteurs, if they would not promise to sell Bibles only in villages inhabited by Christians or Jews. In Persia trouble has latterly been caused by the Persian customs officials, who will pass boxes of Bibles for that country only on condition that the missionary and Bible societies promise not to sell to Moslems, which is, of course, out of the question. Accordingly, no Bibles have entered Persia for some years, while the stock kept in the country is nearly exhausted. Greece is the only country in the Near East in which (since 1901) the Bible in the popular tongue has been a forbidden book, the sale of which is punishable.

The question is sometimes raised whether the distribution of Bibles without explanatory preaching is wise, since, it is said, only a few of the books of the Bible are really intelligible

to non-Christians. In Western Asia such doubts are little in place, for all the races there have been lovers of literature to a certain extent for a thousand years or more, and they all regard the Bible as a holy book, with an undoubted claim to be God's Word, even though Moslems believe it to have been superseded by the Koran, and Jews reject the revelation of God in the New Testament. No doubt here, as everywhere else, the explanatory teaching of the missionary is of extreme importance. But, in face of the barrier which the prejudices of Moslems, Jews and Christians belonging to the ancient Churches, oppose to such preaching, and in view of the fact that their opposition to the preaching shuts their hearts to the simple Gospel in every form, it is of great importance, as a form of pioneer work, to supply them with the Word of God in their own language, trusting them to prove all things and to keep that which is good. Zwemer, in the Bible Society Report of 1904, p. 138, says, "The colporteur is the best pioneer for the missionary, and the Bible is its own best advocate, wherever it has a free field, in opposition to the Koran or any other book of religion."

VIII

SUMMARIES AND STATISTICAL TABLES

THOUGH statistics are indispensable, they present no true picture of the work that is really being done. Nor can statistics for the same period be obtained from all the societies, and one has often to be content with figures of former years. From some of the smaller societies, also, no figures whatever can be obtained, and one can only estimate the number.

Nevertheless, in spite of all their deficiencies, the tables which follow help to give a clear picture of the extent and success of missionary work in the Near East. A personnel of 299 ordained and lay missionaries, eighty-one medical missionaries and 458 lady missionaries might appear insignificant in so great a mission field. Yet 395 organized congregations, with 34,606 communicants and 94,428 adherents, are evidence of real success, when one considers the extraordinary difficulties to be coped with; and a staff of 225 ordained native assistants, in addition to 2,227 who are not ordained, prove that the congregations, which have been formed, are caring for the establishment of a Protestant ministry. Hope for the future lies in the 975 primary and secondary schools and the fifteen colleges, with their 64,016 pupils. And the forty-nine hospitals with sixty-three dispensaries, in which 666,975 patients are annually treated, represent the sowing of the seed of Christian compassion in the stony ground of Muhammadanism.

It is the conviction of almost all the Protestant missionaries that there is little prospect that the national Churches of the Near East will be regenerated by the spirit of the Gospel. Yet the Protestant congregations are centres of a far-reaching influence upon them. Hundreds of priests of these Churches have attended Protestant schools in their youth, and laymen, who have also been educated in these schools, de-

mand Biblical teaching from the priests in their sermons. Nor is it, according to the statement of Hoskins, a missionary in Syria, a rare thing to find a Greek priest preaching Moody's sermons year after year.

A great disadvantage to Christianity in Western Asia is the ever-increasing emigration, which, while also affecting Muhammadanism, is much more common among oriental Christians, and especially decimates the ranks of Protestants. Yet it is an advantage that the greatest stream of emigration is in the direction of Egypt, which has taken a mighty upward bound under British management, for the strength of the Christian element there is thus greatly increased. It is also a consoling thought that by means of this emigration the value of the schools established by Protestant missionaries is being recognized far more widely than formerly. This leads also to greater confidence in, and respect for, the missionaries, who used formerly to be treated with malicious hostility. The hope may also be indulged in, that Christian emigrants, after gaining education, political experience and prosperity abroad, will, in view of the better political conditions which are being established in their home, return thither to be a blessing to their country.

The prospects of mission work among Muhammadans are still everywhere limited. The position in Egypt is relatively the most promising. Here there are already 1,262 Muhammadan children in the schools of the American Mission, and the lecturing tours of Douglas Thornton, who unfortunately died so soon, prove that, to a considerable extent, preparatory preaching is possible, if it be carefully prepared and prudently conducted. In the Ottoman Empire the Lebanon is the most promising district, since it is under a Christian governor. Yet even here, as in the whole of Turkey, public preaching to Muhammadans is forbidden. A perceptible influence, however, is exercised on the Muhammadan population by means of hospitals, dispensaries, Bible-women, book-shops and colporteurs. In the rest of the Ottoman Empire all work among Muhammadans has been hindered as much by the fanaticism of the

common people as by the suspicion and hostility of the authorities. The Panislamic movement, also, embitters the relationship between Moslems and Christians. This is the case most of all in Egypt, though it is very perceptible in Syria also. It is a very general experience in the Near East that missionary work among Moslems is easier where it is connected with a like work among Christians and Jews. Faulty as the Christian congregations may be, and evident as is the Moslem's contempt for the Christians, yet the Moslem tolerates missions among the Christians, and cannot escape the influences which go out from them. Where such a basis is lacking, it easily happens that Moslem sensitiveness resents his being regarded as an object for mission work by the "Christian dogs," a barrier being thus thrown up, which only the medical mission with its self-sacrificing and compassionate work can hope to break down.

Some parts of the Near East, particularly Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Northwestern Persia, are the working place of many small missionary societies. This has caused a great waste of energy. It is pleasing to see that the Church Missionary Society in Palestine and the American Presbyterians in Syria and Persia are displaying a certain power of assimilating smaller missions, and are, at any rate, maintaining a decidedly preponderating influence by the extensive and solid work they do. Closer coöperation among Protestant missions in the Near East is extremely desirable. Only once, from the 13th to the 19th of August, 1901, at Brummana, near Beirut, has there been an international conference of these missionaries. It is to be hoped that conferences upon mission work among Muhammadans in general may not stand in the way of the seriously needed consideration of the problems, methods and difficulties of mission work as a whole in the Near East.

For Syria and Palestine particularly a close coöperation of the distracted forces in a unified and comprehensive program, with a careful apportionment of spheres of work, would be a great gain, especially in the ever-keener competition with the Roman and Russian Churches.

Oppressive as the yoke of Turkey and Persia has been, and obstructive to the development of mission work as their arbitrary measures have ever proved, yet it is only under Muhammadan governments that work among the ancient Churches has been possible. It is a remarkable fact that, as soon as Oriental Churches obtain autonomy, as in Greece in 1829 and in Bulgaria in 1870, they obstinately shut themselves up against Protestant influence. The subjection of countries in which such Churches exist to Russia has also meant the destruction of Protestant missions. Even the English protectorate in Cyprus hindered Protestant missionary work, and English control in Egypt was far less helpful than might have been expected.

So it is in lands under Turkish rule, where the missions have in times of need received the powerful and benevolent protection of the representatives of the English and American governments, that mission work has been most highly organized, and that Protestant congregations have been most highly developed.

It is true of Churches, as of individual Christians, that they live in proportion as Christ lives in them. He does Protestant missions in the Near East a bitter injustice who refuses to recognize that the great central purpose of such missions has been to make the spirit of Christ regnant alike in church life and in the life of the individual. The missionaries are convinced that, unless they succeed in this endeavour, the Oriental Churches are doomed. Forced to form separate congregations, they have laid themselves open to the accusation of proselytism. Yet, in the main, they have been dominated throughout their work by a spirit of compassion for the old Churches which, while paying divine honours to Christ, have become Christless. And the hope survives that, when these ancient Churches shall have been permeated anew with the spirit of their Master, they will receive power from on high to fight the battles of the Lord among the Muhammadan peoples of the Near East, and ultimately to gain the victory.

Syria and Palestine

SOCIETIES	Stations		Foreign Staff				
	Main	Sub-	Ordained and Lay	Medical	Wives of Missionaries	Unmarried Ladies	Total
1. Amer. Presbyterian Miss. Board (North)	4	102	14	3	13	10	40
2. Irish Presbyterian Mission	1	5	1		1	2	4
3. English Presbyterian Mission	1		1				1
4. Danish Orient Mission	1	3	1	1		1	3
5. Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Homes	2	2				55	55
6. Amer. Reformed Presbyterians	1	6	3	1	2	3	8
7. Scotch and Irish Reformed Presbyterians	1	2		1		2	3
8. British Syrian School Society	9	49		1		19	20
9. English Friends' Miss. Association	3	6	2	1	2	5	10
10. Palestine and Lebanon Nurses' Mission	1	2				2	2
11. Church Miss. Society	15	20	9	5	13	29	56
12. Jaffa Medical Mission	1			1		2	3
13. Syrian Orphanage	1	1	9		4	5	18
14. Jerusalem Union	1	3	1				1
15. Moravian Church Mission	1		1			5	6
16. London Jewish Mission (Asiatic Missions of the Society)	6	4	11	4	14	15	44
17. Mildmay Mission	1					2	2
18. German Order of St. John							
19. The Dufferin and Procter Memorial Schools	1	2				2	2
20. Edinburgh Medical Miss. Society	2			2		4	6
21. Tabitha Mission	1					4	4
22. Amer. Friends' Mission	1	4	1		1	1	3
23. Amer. Alliance Mission	1	2	1			5	6
24. Syrian Protestant College	1		46	2	8	2	56
Total	57	204	99	23	58	175	354

Syria and Palestine

Native Agency			Congregations		Schools				Medical Mission		
Ordained	Unordained	Female	Communicants	Adherents	Colleges	Students	Primary and Secondary Schools	Pupils	Hospitals	Dispensaries	Patients
10	216		2,744	4,000 (?)			115	5,688	3		8,205
	10		200	300			4	542			
	4						2	50			
	2		80	140			2	50	1		5,000(?)
							7	628	2	2	11,135
1	23		224	401			7	280	2	1	7,100
	6		40	40							
		84			1	42	40	2,630		3	12,260
	26	14	82	100			16	1,057	1	1	2,936
	5	5					2		1	1	1,907
11	47	59	864	2,414	1	60	48	2,549	3	5	54,248
									1	2	22,340
	8	4		131			3	364			
2	22		200	336			6	532			
										1	50
1	45						12	856	2	3	42,370
		4					2	50		1	1,000
										1	14,157
1		14					2	50			
									2	1	18,427
		10					4	226			
		2	32	70			6	250		1	
	4						2	50			
	27				1	365	1	456	1		
26	443	196	3,462	7,932	3	467	183	16,306	19	23	201,135

European and Asiatic Turkey.

SOCIETIES	Stations		Foreign Staff				
	Main	Sub-	Ordained and Lay	Medical	Wives of Mission-aries	Unmarried Ladies	Total
1. American Board	20	269	42	12	63	68	185
2. Methodist Episcopal Mission	1	15	1		1	2	4
3. Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Homes	2					32	
4. Lohmann's Armenian Aid Association	5	10	9	1	7	33	50
5. Dr. Lepsius' German Orient Mission	2		4	1		2	7
6. Friends' Armenian Mission	1		1			2	
7. Disciples (Foreign Christ. Miss. Soc.)		2					
8. Amer. Ref. Presbys. (Cilicia and Cyprus)	3		3	2	1	2	8
9. British and Foreign Bible Society	1		1				1
Total	35	296	61	16	72	141	255

Persia. Arabia. Mesopotamia

SOCIETIES	Stations		Foreign Staff				
	Main	Sub-	Ordained and Lay	Medical	Wives of Mission-aries	Unmarried Ladies	Total
1. Amer. Presbyterian Miss. Board (North)	5	64	17	10	21	11	59
2. Church Miss. Society — Persia	5	1	10	8	12	12	42
2. Church Miss. Society — Turkish Arabia	2		1	3	3	3	9
3. Hermannsburg Miss. Society		2					
4. London Jewish Mission Society	1	1	1			3	4
5. Dr. Lepsius' German Orient Mission	2		1			2	3
6. Amer. Lutheran Mission	1						
7. Minor Missions among the Nestorians		0					
8. Assyrian Mission	3		6				6
9. British and Foreign Bible Society	1		1				1
10. (Dutch) Reformed Mission	3	4	9	2	6	5	22
11. United Free Church of Scotland	1	1	1	2	2		5
12. Danish Church Mission	1		1				1
Total	25	79	48	25	44	36	153

Asia Minor. Armenia

Native Agency			Congregations		Schools				Medical Mission		
Ordained	Unordained	Female	Communicants	Adherents	Colleges	Students	Primary and Secondary Schools	Pupils	Hospitals	Dispensaries	Patients
92	830		15,748	41,802	8	1,232	353	20,861	7	11	109,863
17	2		426	547			1	20			
							3	490	1	1	1,430
6	71	108					21	1,900	2	3	4,856
1	5						2	300	1	1	2,848
							1	400			
2			200	200							
	23		98	100			5	308	1	1	7,888
118	931	108	16,472	42,649	8	1,232	386	24,379	12	17	126,885

Persia. Arabia. Mesopotamia

Native Agency			Congregations		Schools				Medical Mission		
Ordained	Unordained	Female	Communicants	Adherents	Colleges	Students	Primary and Secondary Schools	Pupils	Hospitals	Dispensaries	Patients
24	158	?	3,189	5,000 (?)	1		80	2,770	4	8	41,301
1	16	12	189	412			9	423	3	2	78,980
	7	7	77	210			4	234	1		11,383
2	1		400	719			4	190			
	2	2					2	32			
	3						2	120			
			250	400			1	56			
6				200							
							23	800			
	17										
	17	5					5	137	2	1	34,305
	3			10					1		39,221
33	224	19	4,105	7,048	1		150	4,756	11	11	205,190

Egypt. Sudan. Abyssinia

SOCIETIES	Stations		Foreign Staff				
	Main	Sub-	Ordained and Lay	Medical	Wives of Missionaries	Unmarried Ladies	Total
1. American United Presbyterian Mission	12	125	48	12	29	35	124
2. Church Missionary Society	7	2	7	4	5	19	35
3. Netherlands Miss. to Egypt (Vereeniging tot Uitbreiding van het Evangelie in Egypte)	1		2				2
4. Egypt General Mission	5	2	7		4	8	19
5. Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Homes	2					30	30
6. Sudan Pioneer Mission	2		2	1	1	2	6
7. North African Mission	2		3		2	3	8
8. Swedish National Miss. Soc.	6	8	21		14	9	44
9. British and Foreign Bible Soc.	1		1				1
Total	38	137	91	17	55	106	269

Summary of Statistics

SOCIETIES	Stations		Foreign Staff				
	Main	Sub-	Ordained and Lay	Medical	Wives of Missionaries	Unmarried Ladies	Total
Turkey	35	296	61	16	72	141	255
Syria and Palestine	57	204	99	23	58	175	354
Persia	25	79	48	25	44	36	153
Egypt and Abyssinia	38	137	91	17	55	106	269
Total	155	716	299	81	229	458	1,031

Egypt. Sudan. Abyssinia

Native Agency			Congregations		Schools				Medical Mission		
Ordained	Unordained	Female	Communicants	Adherents	Colleges	Students	Primary and Secondary Schools	Pupils	Hospitals	Dispensaries	Patients
45	519		9,895	35,058	3	840	187	16,255	3	7	56,476
	16	25	92	193			11	557	2	1	31,289
	2		68	272			2	140			
	15	4					7	315		2	17,000
							1	63	2	2	2,900
	3	1					1	70			
							3	165			
3	59	5	512	1,276			44	1,010			
	15	61									
48	629	96	10,567	36,799	3	840	256	18,575	7	12	133,765

Summary of Statistics

Native Agency			Congregations		Schools				Medical Mission		
Ordained	Unordained	Female	Communicants	Adherents	Colleges	Students	Primary and Secondary Schools	Pupils	Hospitals	Dispensaries	Patients
118	931	108	16,472	42,649	8	1,232	386	24,379	12	17	126,885
26	443	196	3,462	7,932	3	467	183	16,306	19	23	201,135
33	224	19	4,105	7,048	1		150	4,756	11	11	205,190
48	629	96	10,567	36,799	3	840	256	18,575	7	12	133,765
225	2,227	419	34,606	94,428	15	2,539	975	64,016	49	63	666,975

Index

Abadiye, 204
Abassides, The, 35, 59, 182
Abbas Effendi, 291, 338
Abdi Effendi, 173, 175
Abdul Hamid II, 35, 137–140, 153
Abdul Kadr el Jilani, 29
Abdul Mejid, 218
Abeih, 191, 194, 198, 213, 222
Abu Abdallah, 183
Abu Bekr, Khalif, 29, 183
Abu Ruchi, 379, 408
Abu Sufian, 280
Abuna of Abyssinia, The, 364, 375 f.
Abyssinia, 19, 53, 57, 354 f., 371–390
Abyssinian Church, The—see Oriental Churches
Acca, 249, 252, 291
Adabazar, 114, 121
Adana, 115, 157 f., 214
Aden, 22, 27, 273 f., 360
Adger, 406
Adi Ugri, 387
Adigrat, 380
Adis Abeba, 389
Adowa, 380 f.
Adrianople, 44, 104, 172, 398
Aghtamar, 45
Ahmed Tewfik, 176
Ailet, 387
Aimerich, 48
Ain Arik, 257
Ain Karim, 257
Ain Zehalteh, 194
Aintab, 115, 125, 131, 133, 155 ff., 159, 162, 194
Akhissar, 140
Akhmed Akhsai, 286
Akhram, 183
Alamut, 185
Albania, 49, 53, 104, 169, 409
Albanians, The, 24, 170 f.
Albistan, 162
Aleppo, 115, 172, 194, 409
Alexander I, 98
Alexandria, 45 f., 339, 345, 347, 356 f., 394, 398 f., 409
Ali, Khalif, 35, 182, 280
Ali Bey, 401
Ali Ilahi, The, 326
Ali Muhammad, 287, 290
Alliance Israélite, The, 327, 394
Alma, 188, 194
Amara, 277
Amasia, 117, 140
American Bible Society, 174, 216, 402 ff., 409
American Board, Missions of, 70, 71; among the Jews, 390, 395; in Persia, 294–303; in Syria and Palestine, 185–201, 235 f.; in Turkey and Armenia, 56, 102, 106–135
American Colony in Jerusalem (Spafordites), 234
American Sisters, The, 55
Amhara, 372, 378 f.
Amharic language, 91, 95
Amirkhanyanz, Abraham, 403, 406
Ammiel Mission, The, 258
Amr, 26, 45, 363
Anatolia College, 56, 131, 135, 157
Anderson, Rufus, 106
Andreas, F. C., 286
Anglican Mission in Persia, 308 ff.
Ankober, 381
Antioch, 162, 210
Antuf, 186
Anyok, The, 370
Apostles' Road, The, 262, 354 f., 379
Appia, Miss, 207
Arab Conquest, The, 13 f., 39, 45, 271 f.
Arabi Pasha, 339, 360
Arabia, 17, 19, 24, 28, 105, 271–278, 409
Arabic language, The, 20, 39 f., 50, 57, 63, 95, 196, 232, 271 f., 359
Arabistan, 334
Arabkir, 116, 140, 159
Arabs, The, 23, 230
Arakel, 102 f.
Argos, 110, 165
Ariopolis, 165
Armash, 105
Armenia, 11, 21, 24, 62, 98, 105, 118, 135, 137, 149, 153 ff., 159 f.
Armenian Aid Society, The, 150
Armenian Church, The—see Oriental Churches
Armenian Massacres, The, 41, 66, 118, 140–153, 155, 162, 260, 316

Armenian Orphanage, The, 260
Armenian Schools, 111, 159
Armenians, The, 23, 25, 43 ff., 99, 110, 135 f., 152, 156, 181, 233, 298, 318–329, 333, 340
Armeno-Turkish language, The, 45, 106, 108
Arnold, Mühleisen, 210
Arnott, Miss Walker, 257
Arnoutkoyi, 157
Arrhenius, 389
Arsazides, The, 41
Artuf, 255
Asad es Shidiak, 188
Asadurian, A., 402
Asfuriyeh, 205
Ashkenazim, The, 393
Asia Minor, 23, 28, 37, 39, 91, 96, 105 f., 117, 126, 133
Asia Minor Medical Missionary Association, The, 158
Asir, 105
Aslan Sahagian, 159
Assassines, The, 184 f.
Assemani, J. S., 47
Assiut, 46, 56, 74, 348 ff., 352 f.
Assuan, 345, 354 f., 357, 369
Assumptionists, The, 55
Astrakhan, 98
Assyrian Mission, The, 309, 313
Assyrian Mission of the American Board, 116 f.
Atbara, 369
Athanasius, 37
Athens, 165 ff.
Athlit, 232
Atil, 206
Auso Kunoma, 388
Avakian, Ohannes, 141
Awetaranian, Johannes, 161
Awishalum Mission, The, 315
Axum, 376, 378
Ayesha, 280
Azerbaijan, 279, 292, 316 f., 325
Azo, 145

BAAKLIN, 206
Baalbek, 203 f.
Babism, 286–291
Babists, The, 249, 281
Babylon, 13
Badger, G. P., 309 f.
Bagdad, 100, 105, 163 f., 290, 330, 399
Bahrein, 276
Baiburt, 140
Baker, Sir Samuel, 365
Baku, 99, 155
Balearic Isles, The, 21
Balkan Peninsula, The, 11, 17, 23, 37, 57, 68, 89, 167
Banias, 214
Baptist Missions, 165 f., 257, 315
Baratieri, General, 375
Barclay, Joseph, 245
Bari, The, 371
Barnum, Henry S., 110
Barton, Dr., 405
Barun, The, 370
Basil the Great, 37, 117
Basilides, Negus, 91
Basle Mission, The, 96–103, 378
Basra, 105, 164, 276 f.
Baz, 317
Beaconsfield, Lord, 176
Bebek, 110 f., 126, 130, 157
Bedouins, The, 24, 208, 210, 273
Bedr Khan, 293, 309
Bedros, 115
Beha Ullah, 291
Behais, The, 328
Behnesseh, 93
Beirut, 105, 178, 186, 189, 191, 203 f., 207, 217, 222 ff., 398, 409
Beirut Mission Press, The, 190, 215, 347
Beirut Seminary, The, 222
Beit Jala, 40, 260
Beit Meri, 204
Beit Sahur, 40, 260
Bellamy, 206
Bellesa, 387
Benedictines, The, 55
Benha, 352 f.
Beni Suef, 352
Beranduz, 304
Berbers, The, 337, 408
Berlin Congress, The, 136, 154, 167
Bethany, 55
Betharram, 55
Bethlehem, 40, 55, 240, 249, 252, 259 f., 270
Beyan, The, 289
Bible, The, publication of in ancient languages, 405; translation of into modern languages, 196 f., 296 f., 325, 371, 379 f., 385, 389, 399–408
Bible Lands' Mission Aid Society, The, 119
Bible Societies, Work of the, 400–411
Bilbeis, 356
Bird, Frank, 186
Biredjik, 145
Bisharin Bedouins, The, 357

Bishop, Mrs. Isabella Bird, 308
Bishop Gobat's School, 252, 262
Bithynia, 114, 121, 166
Bitlis, 105, 116, 139 f., 145, 150 f., 159
Blind, Work among the, 203, 404
Bliss, Daniel, 213, 218
Bliss, Howard, 213
Blumenhagen, 91
Blumhardt, T., 97
Blyth, G. F. P., 234, 245, 256
Bohtan, 300
Bonar, Andrew, 205
Bor, 370
Borneo, 36
Bosnia, 19, 21, 49, 170, 179
Böttcher, Immanuel, 261
Bradford, Dr. Mary, 321
Brandeis, 383
Brethren of the Holy Gabriel, The, 52
British and Foreign Bible Society, 98, 106, 173 f., 402 ff., 409
Brothers of Christian Schools, The, 55
Brothers of Mercy, The, 55
Brown, Chaplain in India, 93
Browne, E. G., 286
Browne, W., 310
Bruce, Robert, 164, 329 ff., 404
Brummana, 204
Brusa, 114, 121
Bryce, James, 135, 149
Bsherreh, 47
Buchanan, Chaplain in India, 93
Bulgaria, 19, 21, 23, 38, 50, 62, 73, 104, 167 f., 170, 179
Bulgarians, The, 25, 37 ff.; missions among, 167–170
Bulwer, Henry, 175
Burgess, Miss, 162
Butros, Koptic Patriarch, 96, 345
Butros Bistani, 197
Byblus, 48
Byzantium, 43 ff.

Cæsarea, 117, 133, 157
Cairo, 15, 46, 56, 93, 96, 344–361, 399
Calhoun, S. H., 222
Calliupolita, Maximus, 90
Cantine, James, 276
Cappadocia, 117
Capuchins, The, 53, 56
Carmelites, The, 55
Carslaw, 205
Casakos, G., 402
Cassai, 378
Cassandra, 397
Caucasus, The, 44
Caucasus Mission, The, 97–103
Cederquist, K., 389
Censorship, The, 171, 216, 320, 331, 410
Central Turkey College, The, 157
Ceylon, 19
Chaldean Church—see Oriental Churches
Chalki, 64
Charbash, 304
Charigushi, 304
Charles Martel, 21
Charmetant, 149
Chios, 62
Christ Church, Jerusalem, 256
Christian School Brothers, The, 52
Christie, J., 408
Chrysostom, John, 37
Church Missionary Society, The, 94, 97, 103; Mediterranean Mission of, 94–97, 358; missions of, in Abyssinia, 378–382; in Egypt, 344 f., 358–362; in the Egyptian Sudan, 367, 369 ff.; in Persia, 329–334; in Syria and Palestine, 205 f., 234, 242–254, 257; in Turkey and Armenia, 163 f., 173–176
Cilicia, 122, 135, 163, 209
Circassians, The, 136, 339
Cochran, Joseph, 307, 315, 321
Codrington, 157
Cœle-Syria, 198, 213
Colebrooke, 403
Collegiate and Theological Institute, The, 170
Colportage, 276 f., 325, 334, 347 f., 409–411—see also Literature
Constantinople, 15, 50, 59, 91, 92, 95 f., 100, 104, 107, 119, 121, 123, 129, 132, 140, 157, 162, 166
Cook, Miss Jane, 395
Cooper, Miss, 242
Corrie, 93
Corsica, 21
Cossacks, The, 152 f.
Covenanters, The—see Presbyterians
Crimean War, The, 36, 128, 136, 172
Crischona Brethren, The, 347, 354, 382–385
Cromer, Lord, 79, 337, 359, 362, 367–370
Crusades, The, 14, 47 f., 55, 184
Cuinet, 105
Curzon, Lord, 318
Cutts, E. L., 309
Cyprus, 21, 23, 38, 165, 189, 209 f.
Cyprus Convention, The, 136
Cyril X, 343, 345

DAMASCUS, 43, 186, 199, 203 f., 207, 223, 272, 344, 389
Danish Mission in Arabia, 274
Danish Orient Mission, 208
Darawi, 357
Darazi, 183
Darua, 384
De le Roi, 383, 392, 395
Debs, 47
Degala, 304
Deir el Kamr, 192, 194
Demetrius II, Patriarch, 347
Demirji, 166
Derratiye, 208
Dervish Orders, 29 ff.; Kadirija, Sanussiyah, Tiyaniyah, 31, 33; Aisawiya, Maulawiya, Rufaiya, 32
Deutsch, Emil, 84
Dhala, 274
Diarbekr, 43, 105, 116 ff., 122, 140 f., 157 ff., 176
Dietels, R. W., 371
Diettrich, A. H., 99, 102, 406
Dinka, The, 370
Diodorus of Tarsus, 40
Disciples of Christ (Campbellites), 162
Disselhoff, 202
Dodge, 235
Dolaib, 370
Dominicans, 55
Dondukoff, 154
Dongola, 363 f.
Dorne, 91
Druses, 24, 81, 182 ff., 190, 192 f., 198, 200, 204–207, 229, 249, 281
Duleika um el Jun, 232
Dulip Singh, 346
Dunkards, 315
Dutch Mission in Egypt, 355 f.
Dutch Reformed Mission in Arabia, 276
Duzza, 309
Dwight, Harrison Gray Otis, 107 f., 110, 401
Dwight, Henry Otis, 110

EAST ROMAN CHURCH, 37
East Roman Empire, 14, 37, 43
East Syrian Church, 40
Eastern Persia Mission, 317
Echmiadzin, 44, 58, 102
Eddy, Dr. Mary, 217
Eddy, W. W., 198
Edessa—see Urfa
Edinburgh Medical Mission Association, 208, 214, 258
Educational work, 65 f., 70, 74 f., 80, 96, 98 f., 110, 128, 157, 164; among the Jews, 395, 398 ff.; in Abyssinia, 386; in Arabia, 274, 277 f.; in Bulgaria, 170; in Persia, 295 f., 296, 306 f., 310, 317, 320, 322 ff., 331 f.; in Syria and Palestine, 191, 202–207, 217, 221 ff., 228, 236, 242, 249, 251 f., 255 ff., 260, 265 f., 267 f.; in Turkey and Armenia, 107 f., 110 f., 123–126, 128, 131 ff., 156 f., 162, 168
Egypt, 13, 17 f., 19, 21 ff., 29, 37, 39, 43, 45, 58, 63, 91 f., 96, 183, 337–371; mission work in, 78 f., 81, 344–371
Egyptian General Mission, The, 356 f.
El Azhar University, 343, 359
El Hasa, 272, 276
Elias, Bishop, 302
Emigration from the Near East, 160, 224 f., 306 f.
Ennedi, 23
Ephrem Syrus, 40
Epirus, 104
Episcopalian Mission (American), 165 f.
Episcopate of Jerusalem, 236–239, 245
Eppler, C. F., 97, 100, 103
Eppstein, J. M., 398
Eritrea (Erythrea), 19, 53, 375, 387
Erzerum, 105, 116, 118, 140 f., 151, 158 f.
Erzingyan, 140
Es Salt, 248, 252
Et Tayyibeh, 257
Ethel Pain Memorial Hospital, The, 361
Euphrates College, The, 56, 131, 135, 157, 159
Eusebeia, The, 167
Ezra, 206

FALASHA THE, 376 f., 382–386
Falconer, Ion Keith, 273
Fallscheer, Christian, 243
Famaka, 389
Fanariots, The, 59
Fatimide Dynasty, The, 183, 342
Fayum, The, 353
Fehim Pasha, 139
Female Education Society, The, 244, 249, 253
Ferrette, 208
Fia Bey, 139
Fidelia Fiske Seminary, The, 302, 306
Fiske, Fidelia, 294, 302
Fiske, Pliny, 185, 235, 296
Fjellstedt, P., 96
Flad, J. M., 377, 383 ff., 408
Fliedner, T. H., 202, 267, 357

Ford, Miss, 207
Fossum, 314
Fowett, William, 96
Franciscans, The, 52, 55
Frederick William IV, 237 ff.
French, Bishop T. V., 75, 275 f., 330, 334
Friedlaender, Z. H., 255, 395
Friends, The, 162, 204
Frumentius, 371
Fulbe, The, 22

Gairdner, H. G., 361
Galla, The, 337, 372, 386 ff., 390
Garabed, 123
Garabed Khalujian, 144
Gass, 90
Gates, C. F., 131
Gawar, 300
Gaza, 249, 252
Geez language, 64, 376
Geiger, Abraham, 84
Geleb, 388
Geogtapa, 298, 304, 308
Gerard Academy, The, 222
German Evangelical Benevolent Society, The, 162
Ghazali, 30
Giffen, F. K., 370
Ginsberg, J. B. C., 396
Girgeh, 46
Gladstone, 142
Glen, William, 319, 403
Gobat, Bishop Samuel, 123, 162, 201, 236, 239–248, 258 f., 261, 354, 378 ff., 382
Godet, 151
Gojam, 372
Gondar, 92, 373
Gondokoro, 365
Goodell, Wm., 106 ff., 186, 197, 402
Gordon, General, 364, 366 f.
Gordon Memorial Mission, The, 367
Grace, Watson, 204
Gracey, 168
Graham, 207 f.
Grant, Asahel, 295 f., 300 f.
Greece, 21, 23, 37 f., 50, 73, 165, 166 f., 415
Greek language, 37, 38 f., 64, 95, 232
Greek Orthodox Church—see Oriental Churches
Greek War of Independence, 96, 106, 164, 189, 402
Greeks, The, 23, 25, 37, 63; missions among, 164–167
Gregorians, The—see Oriental Churches
Gregory the Great, 37
Gregory the Illuminator, 43
Gregory of Nyssa, 37, 117
Groves, Antony, 164
Guinness, Grattan, 357
Gulpashan, 304
Gundet, 374
Gura, 374
Gurun, 148
Gwalla, 370

Hadramaut, 273
Hadj, The, 20
Hadjin, 115, 118
Haftdewan, 320
Hagop, Pattian, 145
Haifa, 55, 223, 230, 234 f., 257, 261, 270
Haig, General, 273, 358, 367
Hakim ba amr Allah, 183
Hakkiari, 300
Hakob, 102
Hakob, Abuhayatian, 102
Haleb, 105, 162, 194, 211
Hall, Dr., 370
Hamadan, 279, 318 ff., 322, 325–328, 399
Hamath, 194, 217
Hamidiye regiments, 138 ff., 153
Hamlin, Cyrus, 111, 126 f., 131
Hamza, 183
Harar, 389
Harpur, Dr., 273, 360, 367
Harris, J. Rendel, 139, 149
Hasan el Askari, 184
Hasan ibn Sabah, 184
Hasbeiya, 194, 203
Haskeui, 110
Hatti Humayoun, The, 79, 172 f., 210, 347, 351
Hattin, 232
Hauran, The, 200, 249
Hausa (Haussa), The, 22 34, 337
Heber, Reginald, 93
Hebron, 256 f., 260
Hego, Cornelius, 90
Hejaz Railway, The, 178, 223, 272
Helwan, 361
Henry Martyn Memorial Press, The, 331
Hepworth, 142
Herrick, George F., 110, 401
Herzegovina, 21, 62, 179
Heyling, Peter, 91–93
Hicks Pasha, 366
Hijaz, 105

Hilarion, Abbat in Constantinople, 95
Hildner, F. A., 96
Hill, 165 f.
Hocker, Rudolph Wilhelm, 92 f.
Hodeida, 273, 360, 367
Hoffmann, Christoph, 234
Hoffmann, W., 97
Hogg, John, 345, 352
Holmes, G. W., 321
Holy Land, The—see Palestine
Homs, 194, 217
Hörnle, E. F., 330
Hoyer, 274
Hunchiagists (Hunkachists), The, 138
Hurgronje, Snouck, 28, 32
Hylander, N., 389

Ibrahim Pasha, 189, 192
Idlib, 211
Ilat, The, 279
Imaduddin, 101
Imamites, The, 182, 184
Imams, Doctrine of the, 27, 281, 287 f.
Independent missionaries, 80, 258, 314
Insane, Work for the, 204 f.
International College, The, 157
Ionian Bible Society, The, 409
Iran Bethel School, The, 326
Irish Presbyterian Missions among the Jews, 390, 398; in Damascus, 207 f.
Isaac, Deacon, 302 f.
Isenberg, C. W., 354, 378–382, 408
Islam (Muhammadanism), Attempts at reform in, 28, 33; causes of decay in, 23 f.; democratic nature of, 36; ethics of, 83, 86 ff., 286; in Egypt, 337 f.; loss of temporal power by, 21 ff., 37 f.; mysticism of, 83, 283–286; propagation of, 34 f., 270 f., 370 f.; sects of, 27, 182, 280–294; sources of strength in, 29 ff.; theology of, 30, 81–84
Ismail Pasha, 182, 338, 346, 365
Ismail Safi Shah, 281
Ismailites, The, 182, 184, 281
Ispahan, 333 f., 409
Itineration, 325 f., 347
Itshan, 146

Jacob el Baradai, 42
Jacobite Church—see Oriental Churches
Jacobites, The, 64, 117, 122, 181, 340
Jaffa, 235, 239 f., 240, 245, 256 f., 261, 270, 318, 329, 333 f.
Jaffa Medical Mission, The, 257
Jalalud Din Rumi, 282
Jamal ud Din, 291
Janissaries, The, 61, 91
Jannina, 166
Jebel ed Druz, 182
Jenanyan, H., 163
Jerusalem, 15, 20, 40, 45, 55, 105, 229 f., 235, 243, 248, 255 ff., 262, 270
Jerusalem Union, The, 259 ff.
Jessup, H. H., 213
Jessup, Samuel, 213
Jesuits, The, 52 f., 90 f., 134, 162, 225, 248, 297, 385
Jetter, J. A., 97
Jewett, 294
Jews, The, 230 f., 392; missions among, 318 f., 323, 326 f., 333, 390–400; see also Falasha
Jewish Refugees' Aid Society, The, 255
Jezreel, 23
Jifna, 257
John, Bishop of Ephesus, 42
John, Negus, 374 f., 385, 387
John of Seville, 404
Jowett, W., 380
Julamerk, 42, 293
Junieh, 217

Kadesia, battle of, 279
Kadirija—see Dervish Orders
Kafr Shima, 207
Kaisarieh, 140
Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Homes, 149 f., 162, 202, 217, 267–270, 357
Kalopothakes, 166
Kalyub, 356
Kana, 194
Kannobin, Monastery of, 48
Karabagh, 99
Karass, 98
Kasa, 373
Kasala, 385
Kasim Beg, Alexander, 102
Kasvin, 185, 318
Kathershian, Yinyis, 141
Katshadurian, 119
Kenneh, 46
Kerak, 249, 252
Kerbela, 164, 286
Kermanshah, 326
Kesrwan, 47, 223
Keswick Conference, The, 250
Khakhams, The, 393
Kharaba, 206
Kharabeh, 207
Kharput, 56, 74, 116, 121, 123, 125, 131, 133, 135, 140, 156 f., 159

Khartum, 354 f., 365 f., 369
Khasfin, 207
Khoi, 150, 176
Khorasan, 279
King, Jonas, 166, 186
Kirjatein, 208
Kirman, 330, 332 f.
Kismayn, 390
Kitchener, Lord, 367
Klein, A. F., 245, 247, 360
Kobula, 384
Koehler, W., 47
Koeller, 173, 175 f.
Komants, The, 376
Konia, 163
Koptic Church, The—see Oriental Churches
Kopts, The, 45 f., 63 f., 341 f., 346–351
Koraishite Khalifate, 29, 36
Koran, The, 26, 28, 78 f., 81, 84 f., 101 288, 335; quoted, 25, 59, 172
Koreish, The, 280
Koritza, 170
Korpey, 146
Kossova, 104
Kotchhannes, 41, 293, 309 f.
Közle, 328
Krapf, 354 f., 378 f., 381 f., 386, 408
Krose, H. A., 53
Kruse, W., 96
Kugler, 380, 408
Kuifun, 206
Kulluko, 388
Kumm, W. W., 357
Kunama, The, 386, 388
Kunawat, 206
Kurdistan, 24, 62, 94, 105, 116, 292, 300, 309
Kurds, The, 24, 28, 43, 45, 108, 136, 138, 152 f., 155, 161, 279, 293, 307, 310 f., 315 f., 325 f.
Kus, 346, 352
Kuweit, 277

La Grange, Miss Harriet, 222
Labaree, Benjamin, 315 f., 403, 406
Lahiteh, 206
Lake, General, 247 f., 358
Lang, Johann Jacob, 99
Lansing, J. G., 276, 352
Larissa, 166
Larnaka, 210
Latakia, 184
Latrun, 55
Lazarists, The, 53, 55, 297, 308
Le Quien, 47
Lebanon, The, 47 f., 51, 62, 79, 105, 180, 182, 200, 224
Lebanon station, The, 213
Leeves, H. D., 402
Leger, Anton, 90
Lejah, The, 206
Lemal, 145
Leo XIII, 52
Lepers, Work among, 269 f.
Lepsius, Johannes, 84, 139, 149 f., 158
Lepsius Society, The, 161
Lethaby, 249
Leucosia, 167, 210
Lieder, J. R. T., 96 f., 344, 382
Literature, Christian, publication and distribution of, 80, 95, 98 f., 108 ff., 135, 169 f., 185, 187, 190, 215 f., 235, 296, 307, 319, 331, 347 f., 351, 356, 361, 409; see also Colportage, Beirut Mission Press, Bible Translations
Lobdell, 294
Loftcha, 169
Lohmann, 150, 158
Lohmann Society, The, 161
London Jewish Society, 236 f., 242, 254 ff., 383–386, 396, 398 ff.
Long, A., 170, 407
Lotka, J., 399
Lucaris, Cyril, 89 ff.
Ludolf, Jr., 92
Ludolf, Hiob, 92
Luristan, 334
Lurs, The, 279
Lutheran Mission in Persia, 308
Lüttke, M., 337
Luweiz, Convent of, 48
Luxor, 349, 352 f.
Lydda, 40, 248, 259
Lyde, S., 209

McCaul, 394
McCheyne, 205
Mackay, Alexander, 275
MacLean, A. M., 296
Maclean, A. F., 310
Macedonia, 37, 39, 104, 119, 169
Macedonians, The, 23
Magdala, 374, 384
Mahalla, 274
Maharag, Monastery of, 342
Mahdi, The, 27, 287, 366
Mahdi risings, 27, 364, 366
Mahdists, The, 375, 385
Mahmud Effendi, 173, 175
Mahmud II, 37
Major, 162

Maku, 289
Malatia (Malatiyeh), 140, 148
Malgara, Mission of, 50
Malta, 22, 95, 106, 114, 164, 185, 189, 239
Mamelukes, The, 342, 364
Mamuret el Aziz, 56, 105
Mansura, 346
Mar Shimun, Patriarch, 309
Mar Yonan, 311
Marash, 115, 126, 133, 140 f., 157 f., 161 ff.
Mardin, 43, 51, 117, 126, 133, 157
Margawar, 304
Margoliouth, 29
Marno, 389
Maron, 48
Maronite Patriarch, The, 187 f.
Maronites, The, 48, 53, 64, 111, 181, 190, 192 f., 198 f., 200, 204, 223, 229, 264 f.
Marsh, 294
Marsovan, 56, 74, 117, 122, 125, 128, 131, 135, 140, 145, 157, 162
Martyn, Henry, 93 f., 117, 319, 329, 413
Maskat, 273–277
Mason Memorial Hospital, The, 277
Massowa, 354, 372, 374, 386
Matteos, Patriarch, 111, 119
Maulawiya—see Dervish Orders
Maule, Fox, 208
Mazandaran, 290
Mecca, 20, 28 f., 272, 359
Mechitarists, The, 106
Medical work, 80, 92; in Abyssinia, 386 f.; in Arabia, 274, 277; in Egypt, 352 f., 357 f., 360 f.; in Persia, 307, 320 ff., 330 f.; in Syria and Palestine, 203 f., 206, 251 ff., 255–258, 268 f.; in Turkey and Armenia, 133, 157 ff., 161–164
Medina, 20, 272, 359
Medinet el Fayum, 346, 352
Mediterranean Mission, The, 94–97
Megerdich, 162
Melchites, The—see Oriental Churches
Meluk, 370
Melwal, 370
Menama, 276
Mendez, Alfonso, 53
Menelik, 375
Mensa, The, 287 f.
Meroe, Kingdom of, 363
Merriam, W. W., 169
Mesereh, 56, 135, 158, 161
Meshaka, 208
Meshhed, 319
Mesopotamia, 24, 43, 99, 105, 116 f., 163, 282
Metameh, 355, 385
Metamineh, 375
Metawileh, The, 185, 200, 229, 281
Methodist Missions, 166 f., 170, 315
Meyer, J., 408
Michaelis, Johannes, 92
Mildmay Deaconesses, 256
Minyah, 46
Mirza Faruch, 101 f., 403
Mirza Ibrahim, 328
Mirza Yahya, 290 f.
Mitrovitza, 170
Mofi, 390
Mollah Husein, 287
Mollah Muhammad Ali, 289 f.
Mollah Muhammad Ali of Zangin, 289
Monastery of the Cross, 64
Monastir, 104, 169, 397
Monkullo, 387 f.
Monophysite Churches—see Oriental Churches
Monophysitism, 42 f., 57
Moravian Church, 92
Morgan, Miss, 257
Morocco, 19, 23, 33, 35
Morris, Dr., 274
Mosul, 41, 43, 105, 116 f., 163, 309, 317
Mott, Mentor, 203
Mount Athos, 65
Mount Kaneesh, 217
Mount of Olives, 270
Muhammad (The Prophet), 24 f., 35, 59, 81 f., 85, 101, 271, 280
Muhammad II, 37, 59
Muhammad Achmed, Sheikh, 366
Muhammad Ali (ruler of Egypt), 236, 238, 337 f., 365
Muhammad Ali Mirza, Shah, 334
Muhammad el Habib, 182
Muhammad Ibn el Wahhab, 273
Muhammadan World, The, 17–36; geographical limits of, 17; moral condition of, 27 f.; political authority in, 22; political unrest in, 36; population, 18, 19
Muhammadanism—see Islam
Muhammadans, The, conference of missionaries among, in Cairo, 81, 84, 278, 362 f.; missions among, 11, 72 f., 77 ff., 80, 92, 94, 97, 99 f., 413 f.; in Arabia, 271–278; in Bagdad, 164; in Egypt, 78 f., 351 f., 356, 360 ff.; in Persia, 317, 327, 333; in Syria and Palestine, 247, 253 f.; in Turkey, 171–176, 180;

difficulties of, 78 ff., 230, 239, 276 f., 317 f.; methods of, 81, 83–88
Mühleisen, 381
Muir, William, 84
Munzinger, 386
Murad, 61, 91
Musa Kasim, 182
Mush, 139, 142, 150 f.
Mustafa Fazil Pasha, 24
Muzaffar ed Din, 334

Nablus, 240, 243, 248, 252, 257
Nakheileh, 350
Napier, Sir Robert, 374, 384
Nasarieh, 277
Nasirud Din, 290
Nazareth, 40, 240, 243 f., 249, 258
Nebk, 208
Nejd, The, 105
Nejef, 164
Nestorian Church — see Oriental Churches
Nestorians, The, 42, 64, 117, 279, 292–298, 304, 310–314, 340; Mountain Nestorians, The, 116, 163, 292 f., 300, 307, 309, 316
Nestorius, 40
Newman, C. S., 396
Newton, Miss, 257
Nicanor, 57
Nicholas I, 102
Nicolayson, J., 186, 236
Nicomedia, 105, 114, 121
Nineveh, 13; see also Mosul
Noeldeke, Theodor, 296
North African Mission, The, 356
Nubia, 363 f.
Nubians, The, 364 f.
Nuehr, The, 370
Nurallah Bey, 292
Nusairiyeh, The, 24, 81, 184, 209, 229, 281
Nylandt, 355

Obeid Allah, 307
Oertsen, Detlev von, 326, 405
Oman, 273 f.
Omar, Khalif, 26, 59, 61, 183
Omar Khayyam, 285
Omayyads, The, 272, 280
Omdurman, 367
Onesimus, 389
Ordu, 166
Orientmission, The, 161, 176, 315, 326
Oriental Churches, The, 37, 67–71, 76, 112, 114; attempts at reform in, 67, 70–76, 92, 94 f., 99, 111, 167, 189, 229, 233 f., 246, 299, 303 f., 308, 415; formation of Protestant congregations among, 69, 74 ff., 90 f., 113 f., 119, 134, 158, 227 f., 240 f., 245, 267 f., 299, 345, 348, 388, 415
1. Monophysite Churches, 63, 71; Abyssinian Church, 46, 65, 371, 375, 387; Gregorians (Armenians), 43, 46, 58 f., 63, 66, 102 f., 132, 134, 156, 158 f., 162; Jacobites, 43, 46, 50, 64, 117, 122, 181, 340; Koptic Church, 39, 43, 45 f., 58, 63, 65, 342 f., 344, 375
2. Nestorian Church, The, 40 f., 46, 58, 71 f., 304, 310–314
3. "Orthodox" Churches: Greek Orthodox Church, 37–40, 45 f., 64, 68, 104 f., 162, 225 f., 340; autonomous National Churches in Bulgaria, 38, 50, 167; in Cyprus, 38; in Greece, 37 f., 50, 165 ff., 415; in Hungary, 38; in Montenegro, 22, 38; in Roumania, 38; in Russia, 37, 56 ff., 311–314; in Servia, 38, 73.
4. Roman Catholic Churches = Uniate Churches = Churches of the Oriental Rites: Chaldeans = Uniate Nestorians, 41, 51, 53 f.; Maronites, 47, 50, 54; Melchites, 50, 53 f., 181, 199 f.; Latin rite, 49; Græco-Roumanian rite, 49; Græco-Ruthenian rite, 49; Uniate Abyssinians, 53; Uniate Armenians, 50–54; Uniate Bulgarians, 50; Uniate Greeks, 50; Uniate Jacobites, 50, 53 f.; Uniate Kopts, 49, 52; Uniate Servians, 50.
Oriental Christians, Position of under Turkish rule, 58–63, 227; relation between Protestants and non-Protestants, 69 f., 75, 112 f., 156, 158 f., 225, 313
Oriental rites, Churches of the—see Oriental Churches
Origen, 37
Orphanages, 156, 162, 260, 315
Osmanli Dynasty, 35
Othman, 183
Ottoman Empire—see Turkish Empire
Oussani, 41

Pachomius, 342
Palestine, 37, 57, 81, 229–270

Palestine and Lebanon Nurses' Mission, The, 206
Palgrave, William Gifford, 28
Palmer, 262
Panislamism, The ideal of, 35 f., 359 f., 414
Papizian, Ohannes, 145
Parry, O. H., 310
Parsees, The, 332
Parsegh, 102
Parsons, Levi, 185, 235
Passionists, The, 55
Patras, 166 f.
Patterson, Dr., 256
Patriarch of Aghtamar, 45; of Alexandria, 38 ff., 57, 64; of Antioch, 38 ff., 43, 57, 64; of Constantinople (Armenian), 45; of Constantinople (Orthodox), 37 ff.; of Jerusalem (Armenian), 45; of Jerusalem (Orthodox), 39 f.; of Mardin, 51; of Sis, 45
Paul of Thebes, 342
Paul, C., 371, 383
Pera, 120
Pera Johannes, 308
Peramos, 50
Perkins, Justin, 294 ff., 301, 303, 406
Persia, 11, 17, 19, 23, 41, 44, 58, 79, 99 f., 176, 279–336; missions in, 294–336
Persian influence on Islam, 280–294
Persian Parliament, The, 334 ff.
Peshtimaljan, 107
Pfander, Karl Gottlieb, 100 ff., 173 ff., 351, 403
Pfeifer, 106
Pflanz, 257
Philip, Dr., 398
Philippopolis, 50, 53, 168 ff., 176
Pinkerton, 350
Pius IX, 55
Plymouth Brethren, The, 315, 350
Pobedonoszeff, 154
Poitiers, 21
Port Said, 409
Port Sudan, 369
Post, Dr., 217
Prætorius, 405
Preparandi Institute, The, 244, 252
Presbyterians, American, 212; Canadian, 398; Northern, 163, 400; in Persia, 303–308; in Syria, 212–223; Reformed (Covenanters), 208–211; Southern, 166, 170; see also United Presbyterians
Presbyteries, formation of, in Egypt, 353; in Syria, 215
Priests of the Heart of Jesus, 55
Prime, Ed. G., 106
Prishtina, 170
Pritchet, 249
Procter, Miss Louisa, 206

RAHMAT ALLAH, 101
Ramallah, 240, 257
Ramleh, 40, 240, 248
Ras el Meri, 204
Reformed Nestorian Church, The, 304, 312
Reid, 168
Reshid Pasha, 218
Resht, 318, 320
Rhea, 294
Richardson, 165
Riggs, Edward, 110
Riggs, Elias, 109 f., 133, 170, 401, 406 f.
Riley, 310
Robert College, 74, 129 ff., 157, 170
Roman Catholic Missions, 15, 46–56, 67 f., 74, 117, 135, 163, 211 f., 225, 295, 317, 332, 381, 390, 414
Rosecrucian Sisters, The, 55
Rosen, von, 102
Roumania, 19, 37 f., 73, 92
Rumelia, 169
Rumi Melleti, 37
Russian Bible Society, The, 91, 106, 409
Russian Church—see Oriental Churches
Russian Palestine Association, The, 333
Russian pilgrims in Palestine, 233
Russian policy in the Near East, 17, 19, 22, 36, 39, 44, 50, 57 f., 92, 102, 118, 135, 137, 149, 153 ff., 168, 226, 233
Russo–Japanese War, The, 314
Russo–Turkish War, The, 167
Rustchuk, 50, 169
Ruthenians, The, 37

SABAGADIS, 378, 380
Sabbatists, The, 258
Sacy, Silvestre de, 184
Sadad, 43
Sadi, 282
Safdar Ali, 101
Safed, 207, 230, 239, 256, 409
Safita, 195
Sahela Selassie, 381
Said Pasha, 338, 345 f., 398
St. Crischona Mission House, 243, 382
St. George's Hospital, Beirut, 197

St. John, German Hospital of the Knights of, 186, 202, 217
St. Joseph's University, 56
St. Maron, Monastery of, 47
St. Paul's College, 157
Salesians of Dom Bosco, The, 55
Salmas, 304, 318
Salomo, Alexander, 239
Salonica, 166, 169 f., 392, 395, 397, 409
Samakov, 169 f.
San Stephano, Peace of, 136
Sana, 105
Sandrezky, Dr., 245, 269
Sanussi, 33
Sanussiyah (Senussi), The—see Dervish Orders
Sarki Hambarzumoff, 103
Sassanides, The, 141, 279
Sassun, 139, 144
Saud, 273
Schauffler, William Gottlieb, 107, 396 f., 401, 407
Scheele, Bishop, 260
Schick, Baurat, 262
Schlienz, C. F., 95, 97
Schlotthauer, 347, 355
Schneller, Ludwig, 52, 55, 259, 262–267
Schneller, Theodor, 265
Scio, 176
Scios, 165
Scottish Missions among the Jews, 394, 396–399; in Abyssinia, 383 f.; in Egypt, 345; in Persia, 319; in Syria and Palestine, 205, 244, 256
Scottish National Bible Society, 409
Scrimgeour, Dr., 258
Scutari, 133, 157
Sebastiani, L., 403
Self-support, 121, 160, 228, 305
Selim Effendi Williams, 173, 175
Sell, 184, 286
Sephardim, The, 392 f.
Servia, 19, 21, 23, 37 f., 73, 169 f.
Seyyid Kasim, 286
Sharon, 231
Shattuck, Miss Corinna, 150
Shebin el Kanatr, 356
Shebin el Kom, 356
Shedd, 294
Shefa Amr, 249
Sheikh Othman, 273
Sheikh Tebersi, 290
Shemacha, 99, 102 f.
Shepard, W., 157
Sherif of Mecca, The, 36
Sheverine, 319
Shiites, The, 35, 164, 182, 184, 280 f., 286 f., 289, 326
Shimon, 41
Shiraz, 93, 319, 330, 334, 403
Shoa, 372, 381, 388
Shuma Negus, 388
Shumla, 168
Shusha, 99, 102, 155
Shuweifat, 206
Shuweir, 205, 213
Sidon, 194, 203, 213, 222
Sidon Seminary for Girls, The, 222
Silbernagel, 47
Simen, 377
Sinaitic Peninsula, The, 29, 271, 360
Sis, 45
Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 52
Sisters of Mercy, 52
Sisters of Nazareth, 55
Sisters of St. Joseph, 55
Sisters of St. Vincent, 55
Sisters of Zion, 55
Sistowa, 168
Sivas, 116, 133, 135, 140, 144, 157 f., 162
Skene, 210
Slave trade, The, 33, 364–367
Slavs, The, 37, 39, 57
Smith, Azariah, 122
Smith, Eli, 41, 106, 190, 196 f., 295, 404
Smith, Dr. Mary, 321
Smith, Miss Wordsworth, 206
Smyrna, 50, 53, 96, 110, 114, 132, 157, 162, 165 ff., 398
Sobieski, John, 21
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, The, 309
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 173, 175, 258, 309
Sofia, 50, 169 f.
Somali, The, 337, 390
Somerset, Lady, 145
Sonegg, Freiherr Hans Ungnad von, 89
Sor, 105
Souchbulak, 161, 316, 326, 399
Sparta, 165
Spence, D. B., 408
Spillenaar, 356
Spittler, Father, 261, 354 f., 382
Staiger, 383
Stamboul, 20, 90, 157, 162, 178
Stephan III, Patriarch, 111
Sterling, Canon, 252
Stern, H. A., 377, 383
Stileman, H., 333
Stock, 235, 246

Stoddard, 294, 296, 302
Stone, Miss Ellen, 169
Stratford Canning de Redcliff, Lord, 113, 172
Strauss, F. A., 259
Streit, 47, 52
Stuart, Bishop, 276, 333
Suakim, 360, 367
Sudan, The, 18 f., 22, 33, 363–371, 409
Sudan Pioneer Mission, The, 357
Sueidiye, 211
Suez, 356
Suez Canal, 338 f.
Sufism, 281–286
Sulduz, 304
Sullaka, Johannes, 51
Sunna, The, 26, 281
Sunnites, The, 281
Susneus, Negus, 53
Sutton, H. M., 164
Swedish Evangelical National Society, The, 161
Swedish Missions, 260, 314
Swedish National Mission, The, 386–390
Swiss Aid Association, The, 160
Syra, 96
Syria, 24, 37, 43, 57, 62 f., 69, 81, 91, 105, 181–229, 264
Syriac language, The, 42, 295 f., 301, 307
Syrian Protestant College, 74, 186, 202, 218–221, 225
Syrian Protestant Orphanage in Jerusalem, 149, 258, 261–267

Tabitha Mission, The, 257
Tabriz, 94, 312, 317 ff., 321, 324 f., 335
Tadem, 145
Tais, 105
Tajura, 381
Talitha Cumi, 268
Tanta, 352 f.
Tarsus, 74, 157, 163
Tartars, The, 98 f., 155
Tayeleny, 388 f.
Taylor, Miss, 207
Teheran, 94, 317–321, 323 f., 326, 328, 334 f., 399
Templars, The, 234, 261
Temple colonies, 234
Tendur, 386
Tergawar, 304
Tewfik College, 343
Tewfik Pasha, 339
Theodore II, Negus, 355, 373 f., 382 ff., 386
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 40
Thompson, missionary in Jerusalem, 257
Thompson, Bowen, 203
Thompson, Mrs., 203
Thomson, Wm. M., 198
Thornton, Douglas, 361 f.
Thrace, 104, 169
Tiary, 300
Tiberias, 230, 256, 409
Tiflis, 161, 312
Tigré, 378, 381, 388
Timbuctoo, 33
Tisdall, W. St. Clair, 331, 405
Tiyaniyah—see Dervish Orders
Tokat, 56, 93, 117, 162
Tomory, A., 396
Torrance, Dr., 256
Transcaucasia, Russian, 97, 152–155
Trappists, The, 55
Trebizond, 114 ff., 140 f., 296
Trip, 208
Tripoli (country in Africa), 19, 24, 33 f.
Tripoli (town in Syria), 47, 184, 186, 194, 203, 213, 217, 224
Tripoli Girls' School, The, 222
Tristram, Canon, 199, 244
Turkey, 17, 19, 22 f., 28, 37 f., 44, 65, 68, 104 f., 217; Central Turkey Mission, 116, 126; East Turkey Mission, 116 f., 126; West Turkey Mission, 117, 125
Turkish Empire, 24, 34 ff., 39, 75, 230
Turkish Constitution, The, 153, 176–180
Turkish language, The, 39, 45, 63, 95, 161
Turkish Missions' Aid Society, The, 118
Turks, The, 23, 104, 131, 138, 152, 230; missions among, 164, 171–176
Tyre, 47, 203 f.

Ube, 378, 380 f.
Ubeidallah, 183
United Presbyterian Missions among the Jews, 390; in Damascus, 207; in Egypt, 75 f., 344–354, 358; in the Egyptian Sudan, 367, 369 f.
Unyoro, 365
Urfa, 102, 105, 115, 140, 146, 150, 156, 158, 176
Urumiah (Urmia) 41, 114, 116, 150, 292, 297, 302–317, 319, 321, 335, 399

Van, 41, 45, 105, 116, 139 f., 150 f., 156 f., 159 f., 317
Van Dyck, C. V. A., 196, 198, 217, 404
Vartan, Dr., 258

Victoria Hospital, The, in Cairo, 208, 357 f.
Vienna, Siege of, 21

WADAI, Sultan of, 33
Wadi Halfa, 369
Wahabis (Wahabites), The, 27, 35
Wahhab Empire, The, 273
Wahl, 309
Wahuma, The, 337
Waldmeyer, Theophilus, 204, 383
Warka, 188
Warneck, Johannes, 87
Wartabet, Jacob, 187
Washburn, George, 131
Watson, A., 344, 351
Watson, C. R., 344
Watussi, The, 337
Wazirabad, 308
Weakley, R. H., 101, 401
Welte, 47
Werner, 47
West, Henry, 133 f.
West, Miss, 162
Western Persia Mission, The, 317
Westminster, Duke of, 149
Westminster Hospital, The, 307
Wetzer, 47
Whately, Miss Mary, 358
White Fathers, The, 55
William of Tyre, 48
Williams, Fenwick, 136
Williams, Miss Juliana, 206
Wilson, C. T., 247, 254
Wilson, John, 207
Wingate, Sir Reginald, 368
Winquist, 408
Wishard, J. G., 321
Wishard, Luther, 130
Witteween, 355
Wolda Michael, 378
Wolters, Theodore Friedrich, 245, 253
Women's Board, The, 169
Women's work, 27, 80, 88; in Arabia, 277 f.; in Egypt, 350, 352; in Persia, 326 f., 332 f.; in Syria and Palestine, 204, 250 f.; see also Educational Work
Wood, Mrs. George, 222
Worsley, T. H., 206

XAVIER, FRANCIS, 93
Xenophon, 136

YATES, HOLT, 211
Yaure Abraham, 308
Yemen, 24, 272
Yezd, 291, 319, 330–333
Yezides, The, 185
Yiddish language, The, 393
Yonti, 390
Young, Dr., 274
Young, C. G., 118
Young, John, 27
Young Men's Christian Association, 130
Yusuf Asir, Sheikh, 197
Young Kopts, The, 343
Young Turks, The, 177–180

ZAGAZIG, 352
Zahleh, 203, 213
Zalanes, The, 376
Zangin, 290
Zaremba, Felician, 99, 403
Zazega, 387
Zeile, 389
Zeitun, 115, 118, 135
Zerrin Taj, 289
Zerweck, 328 f.
Zeller, Johannes, 96, 244
Ziemendorf, T. H., 357
Zimmies, The, 60, 135, 137
Zionist movement, The, 231 f.
Zoar, 202
Zohrab, Dr., 406
Zoroaster, 292
Zoroastrianism, 41
Zoroastrians, The, 279
Zwemer, Peter, 278
Zwemer, S. M., 276, 278, 411

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